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The authors are Walter Phelps Hall, Dodge Professor of History, and Robert Greenhalgh Albion, Associate Professor of History, both of Princeton University. $4.60.

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Volume XLIV] *April, 1939* [*Number 3*

The American Historical Review

HISTORY AND HISTORIANS AT CHICAGO

THE fifty-third annual meeting of the American Historical Association was held at the Stevens Hotel in Chicago on December 28, 29, and 30. In attendance it far surpassed any previous annual meeting in the Middle West, and its registration figure of 1017 has been exceeded only once in the history of the Association, at Philadelphia in 1937. Concurrent meetings were held in Chicago by the following societies: Agricultural History Society, American Association of University Professors, American Catholic Historical Association, American Military History Foundation, American Oriental Society (Middle West Branch), American Society of Church History, Bibliographical Society of America, Conference of State and Local Historical Societies, History of Science Society, Mediaeval Academy of America, Mississippi Valley Historical Association, National Council for the Social Studies, Society of American Archivists, and Southern Historical Association.

The number of participants in the proceedings whose names appeared on the program was 167. There were 86 papers and addresses, exclusive of comments by discussion leaders at round tables, observations of sessional chairmen, and remarks from the floor. A rough estimate puts the total number of talk-hours, exclusive of course of immeasurable off-the-program discourse, at something in excess of one hundred. Thanks to the co-operation of the chairman of the Program Committee, Louis Gottschalk, we were able to obtain summaries of most of the papers and addresses, and we are grateful to those discussion leaders who responded to our requests for résumés of their comments. Unfortunately our knowledge of the less formal discussion is very scanty, derived mainly from fragmentary notes kindly supplied to us by public-spirited coadjutors. Extemporaneous remarks from the floor do not invariably deserve to escape oblivion, but sometimes they are important. Consideration might well be given to the practicability of a stenographic report of remarks from the floor at future annual meetings.

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The spacious lobbies and lounges of Chicago's and the world's largest hotel gave free scope to gregarious and convivial impulses and the flow of professional gossip and facilitated esoteric tête-à-têtes between fellow specialists as well as those discreetly private interviews which are sometimes followed, it is said, by academic appointments. There were the customary breakfast reunions of former graduate students of the larger universities. At the dinners and luncheons and at the larger meetings generally the seating capacity was adequate, though several of the round tables suffered from overcrowding. All members of the Association were invited to a tea and reception at the Chicago Historical Society Library and Museum and to a complimentary luncheon at the Stevens Hotel tendered by the University of Chicago, Northwestern University, and the Committee on Local Arrangements, of which General Charles G. Dawes was chairman. The ancient historians were entertained at luncheon by the Oriental Institute and were enabled to gain some acquaintance with the methods of research that are being followed there.

The program embodied no philosophy of history, and no particular school of historical interpretation was in the ascendant. There was not even a unifying theme, as had been the case at the Philadelphia meeting the year before, when the program was built around the Constitution. All this seems to have been less disturbing to the historians present than to President Hutchins of the University of Chicago and Dean Snyder of Northwestern University. Speaking before a plenum of the meeting at the complimentary luncheon, these gentlemen gave the impression of being quite sure in their own minds that historians should be moral philosophers and instruct the public in the "teachings of history", as to which, it seemed to be assumed, all truly moral philosophers would agree. The Program Committee had attempted no arduous feats of illumination, integration, or commemoration. There was, indeed, a session on the philosophy of history, but no particular *Weltanschauung* emerged therefrom as preferred. The element of timeliness was not wholly absent from the proceedings—witness papers on "Antecedents of New Deal Liberalism" and "Reflections on the Passing of Austria"—but it was not dominant, and speakers, in general, did not feel under obligation to make their contributions throw direct light on the present. The sesquicentennial anniversary of the founding of Marietta suggested a session on Contributions of the Old Northwest to American Life and was probably responsible for the papers presented at the joint session with the American Military History Foundation,

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both of which were concerned with subjects in the history of the Old Northwest; and a session on The World War Twenty Years After was planned to commemorate the armistice of 1918. These, however, were the only yieldings to the impulse to historical commemoration. A round table on Scandinavian contributions to American life was appropriately dedicated to the memory of Laurence Marcellus Larson, but this was commemoration of a different sort.

If the proceedings were wanting in evidences of historical planning, they were for that reason the more representative of the manifold and heterogeneous interests and viewpoints of the members of the Association. For us, charged with the responsibility of reporting the meeting, its lack of architectonic quality had a peculiar advantage. It not merely dispensed us from observance, always difficult, of the rhetorical principle of unity; it made it obligatory upon us to forget all about that principle. For the appearance of unity could be given to the proceedings at Chicago only by the exercise of a degree of subjectivity on our part incompatible with the requirements of historical editorship. No type or phase of history was singled out for exploitation, and none, we are sure, was invidiously excluded. The papers ranged in time from ancient Iran to the Anschluss of 1938 and represented most of the familiar varieties of history. Science and education, even journalism and printing, have established their right to seats at our table. We do not yet seem, however, to feel the need of associating with the fine arts. One wonders why.

The round tables were the novel and most distinctive feature of the program. Ten of these were held on each of the three mornings, one in each of the following historical fields: ancient; medieval; early modern (to 1789); recent modern; English; Far Eastern; Slavonic; Latin-American; United States, 1492-1865; United States, 1865-1938. The hope that those especially interested in one of these fields would attend the three round tables in that field seems on the whole to have been justified. At each round table there was a paper followed by discussion, which was opened by a designated leader. It is gratifying to be able to report that the papers were held to reasonable length and that at most of the meetings a fair proportion of those in attendance participated in the discussions. The papers naturally varied widely in scholarship and in originality, suggestiveness, and provocativeness. In general, it was those which were concerned with relatively novel themes and those in which knowledge was informed by insight and capacity for interpretation that elicited really effective discussion. The round

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tables had the advantage of bringing scholars in the same field more closely in contact with one another than previous annual meetings have done. It was not to be expected, of course, that the full potentialities of the experiment would be actualized, especially on a first trial. Some of the papers did not seem calculated to evoke much response, chairmen could in some instances have exerted a more stimulating influence, and in more than one case discussion leaders had been unable to secure in advance of the meeting summaries of the papers they were supposed to discuss. Under these circumstances they could not be expected to perform adequately their intended function of giving direction to subsequent discussion from the floor. It seems, however, to have been the general sense of the members present that the experiment had been on the whole decidedly successful and ought to be developed further in the future.

At the first of the round tables in ancient history Albert T. Olmstead gave a comprehensive and illuminating survey of recent progress in Iranian studies. Taking as his subject "The Early History and Culture of Iran", he referred to the many additions that have been made to the fundamental sources for the history of Iran in the last twenty years. The air surveys of Erich Schmidt have remade the study of the historical topography of the country. Wilton Krogman has studied the skeletal material from the excavations. George Cameron has prepared card dictionaries of Old Persian and of the still only one quarter deciphered Elamite, has written the early history of Iran, and is able to decipher the 29,000 tablets from the Persepolis archives. The excavations at Persepolis conducted by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago have uncovered the finest examples of Achaemenid art, and numerous excavations are carrying back the archaeological data to prehistoric times. Nelson Debevoise has given us a political history of Parthia, but a synthesis of Parthian culture remains to be written. The monumental survey of Iranian art now in course of publication, edited by Arthur Upham Pope under the auspices of the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology, has laid a broad foundation on which to build. In conclusion, Mr. Olmstead went so far as to say that at the present moment Iranian history promises more new and striking discoveries than any other field of ancient history.

At the later round tables in ancient history Sterling Dow spoke "On Agora Inscriptions and Athenian History", and C. E. Van Sickle presented his views on "Changing Sanctions of the Roman Imperial Power in the Third Century, A. D." Mr. Dow showed that the Agora

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inscriptions have added much to chronological precision in Athenian history and therefore in Greek history in general. They have added much, also, to knowledge of the details of the tribal and demal organization of Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries B. C. In the course of the discussion from the floor William Linn Westermann remarked that it is surprising to learn from the Agora inscriptions published by William S. Ferguson the extent to which the localities of Attica outside the city retained their vitality.

Mr. Van Sickle contended that the evolution of the Roman imperial power ought not to be traced primarily in terms of development toward absolutism, for every ruler holds his power as a grant, real or fictitious, from some higher power which has or claims the right to confer it and which is bound to act in some degree as a check upon the powers which it delegates. In the Roman Empire, he said, there were three possible claimants for the position of grantor: the senate, the army, and the gods. At the end of the second century A. D. the emperors still based their right to rule upon a senatorial grant, but thereafter the imperial power depended, variously, upon the sanction of army or senate or both. Aurelian came to power under conditions that made him unwilling to depend upon either army or senate for his authority and therefore claimed divine right, as being the earthly representative of the Unconquered Sun, which accounts for his temple and priesthood of *Sol Invictus* and for his assumption of the robes and crown of an oriental king. It was Diocletian who finally broke with both the military and the senatorial tradition, though *his* divine sponsor was not *Sol Invictus* but Jupiter, while that of his colleague, Maximian, was Hercules. Thereafter divine right in some form was the sanction of the imperial power, but it had earthly representatives to which its real effectiveness was due—a mercenary army, a civilian bureaucracy, and an elaborate court. The nominal autocrat of the empire was in fact limited in his powers as much as his second-century predecessors had been limited by the senate. In a carefully prepared critique of this paper Tom B. Jones gave reasons for thinking that until the time of Carus (282 A. D.), while the emperor might be nominated by the senate, the army, the gods, or his predecessor in office, it was the senate (and people?) alone that had the legal right to confirm the nomination and grant the imperial power. He argued against the opinion that Aurelian claimed to receive his power from *Sol Invictus*. There is no sufficient literary evidence, he said, to support this view, and the numismatic evidence suggests that Aurelian, in honoring this deity, was

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merely following the example of other Illyrian emperors. Mr. Jones believed that Aurelian claimed divine right on the ground that he was himself a god. Further remarks rambled rather far from the topic, being concerned largely with the original formation of the Roman constitution.

Of the papers in medieval history the one most provocative of discussion, because it was the most original in subject matter, was Lynn White's "Technology in the Middle Ages". The speaker observed that medieval technology consisted of the technical equipment of the Roman Empire modified not only by the ingenuity of the Western peoples but by inventions taken over by them from outside sources—from the Northern barbarians, the Byzantine and Moslem Near East, and the Far East. The early Middle Age, in his opinion, marks a very considerable advance over Roman times, and he suggested that the chief glory of the later Middle Age is not its cathedrals, its poetry, or its scholastic philosophy but rather its civilization, resting, for the first time in history, not on the backs of sweating slaves but primarily on animal, water, and wind power. "Laicization of Society in the Middle Ages" was the subject of a paper in which Joseph R. Strayer reviewed the passing of leadership in England and France from the church to the state. Ecclesiastical control of society was at its height in the twelfth century, but when Pope Boniface VIII challenged lay leadership at the end of the thirteenth, he was defeated. The speaker and Elisabeth Kimball, the discussion leader, brought out the principal factors in the process of laicization. In the course of the discussion it was suggested that the extent of religious dominance in early medieval society may be exaggerated, since many of the clerics were secular-minded. John L. La Monte showed the need of a new historical work that would include the commercial, social, intellectual, and artistic phases of the history of the crusades. In "The Crusades Reappraised" he reviewed in masterly fashion what has been done and what remains to be done both on the crusades as an aspect of European history and on the crusaders' states in the Levant. His conclusion was that there is plenty of fresh material for a new history to incorporate and plenty of problems for it to solve. Einar Joranson, the discussion leader, concurred with Mr. La Monte as to the desirability of a collaborative general history of the crusades by American scholars and expressed the hope that an adequate up-to-date textbook on the subject would soon appear.

In early modern history (to 1789) the subject of the first round table was "The Humanism of the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Cen-

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turies and its Effects on the Rise of Nationalism". Hajo Holborn, who presented the paper, observed that patriotic sentiment in the Middle Ages remained within the limits of medieval Christian universalism and that national pride was measured in terms of a people's contribution to Christian culture. Humanism in some particulars abandoned universalism. In place of a universalist interpretation of history Petrarch developed a conception in which peoples figured as the decisive forces in the historical process; and a study of the characteristics of peoples and of the geographic conditions of particular countries is apparent in works like those of Aeneas Sylvio and Brondo. This remained the humanistic influence on the growth of national feeling in Europe down to the end of the sixteenth century. Apart from this, humanism joined forces with the religious movements looking to the restoration of a supernational community. In the opinion of Ernest W. Nelson, who opened the discussion, the paper overstressed the role of Petrarch in relation to national historical thinking and to the spirit of Italian patriotism. Humanism, he contended, was definitely opposed to nationalism. In the discussion from the floor ideas were expressed regarding nationalism and war which seemed to be occasioned by the current world situation rather than by a historical view of the subject under consideration.

In "The Place of Italy in the History of the Enlightenment" Elio Gianturco drew a sharp contrast between the great Italians of the Enlightenment and the representative French *philosophes*. Grounding his fresh and stimulating appraisal of Italian thought on an independent examination of the writings of Gravina, Vico, Beccaria, Muratori, and others, the speaker maintained, albeit with some exaggerations, that the Italians, for reasons which he specified, achieved a genuinely historical outlook long before the German Justus Möser and that their thought was more closely related to the social science of the nineteenth century than was that of the French Enlightenment. A keen and animated discussion followed, in which some differences between French and Italian thought were brought out. Frederic C. Church, the leader, summarized the main points in the paper, amplifying some of them and pointing out, *inter alia,* the indebtedness of certain of the *philosophes* to the Italians.

In "The Rise and Decline of Republicanism before 1815" George M. Dutcher referred to the governments of the English Commonwealth and Protectorate but directed his attention mainly to the republican experiments of the American and French Revolutions.

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American independence necessitated the sudden formation of non-monarchical state governments, but while the war was in progress the word "republic" was seldom used, and there was no republican propaganda, though John Adams had worked out a republican plan. French leaders in 1789 were acquainted with American republicanism, but when, in the crisis of '92, a republic was proclaimed in France, the government was essentially a dictatorship of the National Convention acting through its committees. Not till 1795 was a really republican constitution adopted, and this was short lived. Disparate conditions explain the failure of French attempts at republican government and the simultaneous success of American republicanism under Washington, Adams, and Jefferson. Geoffrey Bruun, in opening the discussion, expressed the opinion that if attention were paid to function rather than to form, the history of republicanism would seem less episodic. Connecticut and Rhode Island, for example, might almost be considered as virtual republics before 1776, and the British government has acquired an increasing admixture of republican elements since 1689.

At the luncheon conference on Modern History a business meeting of the Modern History Section of the American Historical Association was followed by a paper in which Leo Gershoy offered some "Reflections on Enlightened Despotism in Prussia". He dwelt upon what he regarded as a fundamental incompatibility between the aims of the reforming philosophers and those of the monarchs to whom they looked for the realization of those aims. From his study of the reign of Frederick the Great the speaker concluded that Frederick was a reforming reactionary who gave answers to the questions confronting him in terms of outmoded solutions. The philosophers who applauded him were guilty, Mr. Gershoy contended, of believing that the Leviathan state could be persuaded to become the architect of its own extinction.

Recent modern history (since 1789) was represented at the round tables in that field by Frederick B. Artz, whose subject was "Bonapartism and Dictatorship", S. William Halperin, who had generously consented to take the place on the program left vacant by the withdrawal of Gaudens Megaro and speak on "The Emergence of Italy as a World Power", and Oscar Jászi, who offered "Reflections on the Passing of Austria". Mr. Artz pointed to the similarities between the regimes of the first and third Napoleons and the resemblances of both to the present fascist dictatorships. All of them arose out of crises in which the groups that wanted "order" rallied to the dictators. All

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were established because the older controlling forces became divided while the radical oppositions were unable to swing the masses to their side. All elaborated mythologies to explain why and how they arose and for what they stood. All hated intellectuals, appealed to patriots, promised all things to all men, talked peace and prepared for war, perfected secret police and censorship of the press, used education and the press for propaganda, and invoked the plebiscite. These similarities, however, should not be permitted to obscure elements of difference between the Bonapartist and fascist dictatorships. The two Napoleons, the speaker maintained, worked with the Catholic Church, while the totalitarianism of Hitler and Mussolini has brought them into head-on collision with Rome. Neither Napoleon was obsessed with a determination to wipe out the class struggle; neither had a private army; neither held racial theories. Rudolph A. Winnacker, in opening the discussion on Mr. Artz's paper, suggested that because of its institutional approach it had not made clear the similarities between the Napoleonic interludes and the preceding and succeeding regimes or between the activities of these dictatorships and those of governments in nondictatorial countries; the "liberal" nineteenth century, he observed, was a time of expansion of governmental powers regardless of the form of government.

Mr. Halperin emphasized the increasing importance in recent decades of Italy's role in world affairs and pointed out that this was owing to a number of factors—economic, social, psychological, ideological, geographical, and diplomatic. These, coupled with the impact of certain dynamic political and literary personalities and improvements in the techniques of war, aided Italy in acquiring a colonial empire and in achieving a more formidable position among the great powers.

Mr. Jászi interpreted "the rape of Austria" as the final inevitable step in a long process. After some reference to the historic role of Austria and its position following the World War, he traced events and trends there since the rise of the Nazi movement in Germany, showing the division of public opinion on the question of Anschluss and the irrepressible antagonism between the anti-Nazi parties—the Social-Democratic and the Christian-Social. The terrible February days of 1934, when Austrian socialism was crushed in civil war, signified the real end of Austrian independence. All that stood in the way of Nazi absorption of Austria was the Italian army, but Mussolini's later commitments and embarrassments made it impossible for him to

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fight Germany, and in April, 1937, at the Venice meeting with Chancellor Schuschnigg, he withdrew his pledge of support to Austria. It cannot be doubted, the speaker said, that the annexation of Austria—in spite of the perfidies and brutalities that accompanied it—is a finality. Further reflections on the passing of Austria were contributed by the discussion leader, Hans Kohn. The Habsburg monarchy, he said in substance, had protected the peoples of the Danubian basin against Prussian-German expansion, and, though this was of course not intended by the peacemakers at Paris, its destruction paved the way for the realization of German dreams of Mitteleuropa, Berlin-Bagdad, and Hamburg-Herat. Dollfuss and Schuschnigg failed to rise to their opportunity and make Austria a rallying point of anti-Nazi Germanism, and their insufficiency removed the most serious remaining obstacle to the *Drang nach Osten*. For with Austria under German control, the whole territory of the former Habsburg monarchy would follow, and more too. The mistake of the Western democracies in partitioning the Habsburg monarchy on "nationalistic" lines was repeated in September, 1938, in the case of Czechoslovakia, and with the same disastrous results. What remains of Czechoslovakia has already become a Nazi vassal.

That the question of the origins of the World War still holds the interest of many American historians seemed to be indicated by the very large attendance at the session at which Sidney B. Fay and Bernadotte E. Schmitt discussed its present status. Both speakers declared that in the main they stood by the essential findings as presented in their respective published works on the origins of the war. After a sage warning against permitting current interests and preoccupations to betray us into distorting the past, Mr. Fay turned to the present status of the "war guilt" question in different countries. In Germany, he pointed out, it had been settled quite simply and authoritatively by Hitler when he declared before the Reichstag on January 30, 1937: "I hereby retract in the most solemn fashion the German signature to the declaration, pressed from a weak government against its better knowledge, that Germany has the guilt for the War". In Russia there is no longer any official doubt that bourgeois capitalism was responsible, though Marxian historians often distinguish between different nations as to degrees of responsibility. In France there has been very little change of opinion among the masses in regard to Germany's guilt, though there is probably no other European country in which the question is debated so fully, and in many cases so critically and

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objectively, among scholars. Omitting for lack of time the status of the question in other countries, the speaker indicated some of the changes he would now make in revising his *Origins of the World War*. In particular, he would give more attention to economic and psychological causes. When he wrote his book he was conscious of neglecting them, but they were so difficult that he preferred to reserve them for later treatment.

Mr. Schmitt was of the opinion that the results of twenty years' research had had comparatively little effect on popular opinion in the belligerent countries. He referred to various episodes of prewar diplomacy, such as the alleged British offer of an alliance to France in the spring of 1905, the Treaty of Bjorkoe, the Bosnian annexation crisis, the Balkan wars, etc., and observed that in spite of all that has been published in recent years, many aspects of these and other incidents remain obscure. With regard to Belgian neutrality he reminded his hearers that in Germany military considerations prevailed over political views but that in France and Great Britain, although the general staffs and foreign offices toyed with the idea of a violation of Belgian neutrality by French and British forces (in anticipation of an expected violation by Germany), the governments overruled any such proposals. In conclusion Mr. Schmitt dealt with the much mooted question of the attitude of the German government as manifested on July 5, 1914. He was unable to accept the opinion of Mr. Fay, who had taken the view that neither the German emperor nor the German chancellor was fully aware in July, 1914, of what Austria-Hungary proposed to do in respect of Serbia after the murder at Sarajevo. On the contrary, he maintained the position taken in his previous writings, that the Austrian representatives in Berlin had made it clear on July 5 that it was the intention of their government to "march into Serbia" and that the German government was fully aware of this plan and had sanctioned it in spite of the danger that such action might precipitate a general European war. Mr. Schmitt presented new evidence in support of his contention. In the discussion following the papers William E. Lingelbach, the chairman, William L. Langer, and E. Malcolm Carroll stressed the importance of laying greater emphasis upon national policies, notably those of Russia, as the only sound basis for an understanding of the action of statesmen and diplomats.

Speaking on "Economic England between Feudalism and Factory" at the first of the round tables in English history, Herbert Heaton referred to the general upward trend of the business curve after 1500.

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Industry became more diversified, agriculture was not seriously hampered by the persistence of the open-field system since that system permitted much individual initiative and was not such a barrier to improvement as has been supposed, and commerce grew in all directions. The thesis that the development of capitalism and the Reformation are to be explained in terms of a lag of wages behind rising prices ought not to be accepted uncritically. Mr. Heaton believed that the relation between economic depression and political or social discontent would be found to be very close. Frederick C. Dietz, who opened the discussion, called attention to some specific economic questions that need further investigation and to unused materials on such subjects as crown estates, and stressed the importance of trade fluctuations. In the ensuing discussion the question of the reliability of contemporary statements regarding hard times, etc. was raised.

The object of Herbert C. F. Bell, in a paper on "Politics and Religion in Modern England", was not to develop a thesis but to propound certain questions for consideration: whether English and American historians who have written on English history in the nineteenth century have neglected to synthesize politics and religion, as Halévy did for the early years of the century; and what part Christianity may have played in the Victorian compromise, especially in social and economic reform and in the foreign policies of certain statesmen. The speaker stressed the question of individualism, both religious and political, and examined the alleged defects of purely secular liberalism in providing orderly and enduring types of society and government.

In "The British Empire—A Half Century of Changing Imperialism" Howard Robinson reviewed the ideas of empire prevalent fifty years ago, on the eve of the World War, and today. He referred to the effects of the war in both the self-governing and the dependent parts of the empire. It gave powerful impetus to Dominion nationhood with all its manifold implications, strengthened the spirit of nationalism and the demand for self-determination in India, Egypt, Ceylon, and elsewhere, and stimulated the revival of older imperial conceptions regarding dependent and exploitable regions. Tendencies toward imperial disintegration have been checked for the time being by the demands of the "hungry" powers, increasingly intent upon a reallocation of colonies in accordance with older imperialistic conceptions, but what of the future? Do the growth of nationhood in the Dominions, the rise of nationalism in the dependent colonial empire, and the re-

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emphasized colonial question portend the "decline and fall" of the British Empire? C. W. de Kiewiet, the discussion leader, had time to touch upon only a few of the many problems suggested by Mr. Robinson's paper. He observed that even New Zealand, always remarkable for the closeness of its attachment to the mother country and to the empire as a whole, had adopted a more independent and critical approach to imperial affairs as a result of its concern over British policy in a series of international crises from Manchuria to Czechoslovakia; and he referred to the efforts of other Dominions to build up within their borders integrated economic and social orders as conditioning their attitude toward the empire and as tending in the direction of a loosening of imperial ties. The extension of protectionist policies in the dependencies, Mr. de Kiewiet remarked, has influenced the point of view of the outside world regarding the empire, and the attitude of the "have-not" powers has been exacerbated by restrictions on commerce and exchange. A cession of colonial territory, he suggested, might be less desirable from the standpoint of appeasement than a revision of economic policy. In the course of a rather far-ranging discussion from the floor Reginald G. Trotter directed attention to the possible effects of the decline of the League of Nations upon the fortunes of the empire.

The round tables in Slavonic history were all on the subject of church and state. In a paper entitled "Church and State in Russia in the Time of Nikon" George Vernadsky began with a sketch of Russian ecclesiastical history down to the middle of the seventeenth century in the course of which he said that church and state were theoretically co-ordinate, as in Byzantium, though in the sixteenth century the authority of the state was actually in the ascendant. In the early seventeenth century Patriarch Filaret of Moscow greatly raised the authority of the church, but with his death a period of decline set in which lasted till the time of Nikon, who came to the patriarch's throne in 1652 with the definite aim of restoring the church-state balance in accordance with Byzantine theory. For a few years there was a dyarchy of czar and patriarch such as had existed in the days of Filaret. In carrying out his reform of the Moscow Church Nikon availed himself of the services of the Ukrainian clergy, then on a higher cultural level than the Moscow clergy, and his Ukrainophile attitude aroused opposition among the nationalistic leaders of Moscow public opinion, lay and clerical alike. Hence the rise of the so-called Old Believers movement and the schism in the Moscow Church. A personal quarrel

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between the patriarch and the czar was added to an involved religious and diplomatic crisis, and in 1658 Nikon retired to a monastery. A council of the Eastern Orthodox Church, the Great Sobor of 1666-67, condemned Nikon for interference in matters of government, but it approved his church reforms, and by anathematizing the Old Believers it made the schism in the Russian Church final. The result of the crisis was to give the state ascendancy over the church, thus preparing the way for the control of church administration by the state under Peter I and the confiscation of the estates of the church by Catherine II. In opening the discussion Philip E. Mosely expressed agreement with Mr. Vernadsky in the main. He questioned, however, whether the relation between church and state in Russia was based on the same theoretical foundation as in Byzantium and suggested that the reforms of Nikon and the resulting schism, which he regarded as inevitable, had too often been linked with a fortuitous quarrel between the patriarch and the czar. In conclusion he raised the question of whether this quarrel might not have been more closely related than has been supposed to differences of opinion regarding Russian foreign policy. Mr. Vernadsky did not accept this interpretation. In the ensuing discussion several other points were raised. It was questioned whether the theory of a dyarchy had any great influence in Russia before the time of Nikon, and the importance of the land question in the controversy between church and state was emphasized, as was the need of a comparison between the church-state conflict in Russia and similar collisions in Central and Western Europe.

John S. Curtiss began his account of "Church and State in Russia in the Last Years of the Empire" by recalling the measures of Peter I, Catherine II, and Alexander I, which had as their effect the complete subordination of church to state, and the position and powers of the Over Procurator of the Most Holy Synod. The state used its control of the church, he pointed out, to prevent the clergy from opposing the existing order and to secure the support of their moral authority. In the period with which he was more especially concerned Mr. Curtiss showed that the church was in a condition of moral decline. Not only was the intelligentsia lost to it, but the proletariat could no longer be depended on, and even among the peasants the influence of the clergy was weakening. Strongly linked as it was to the state, the church could not but be profoundly affected by the collapse of autocracy in 1917. In the discussion a number of points were raised, among others, whether the clergy had been as submissive to the state as had been

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represented, whether the absence of a clerical party indicated that the church had no vigorous life of its own, apart from the state, and whether the revolutionary crusade against the church was motivated as much by the latter's association with the imperial government as by Marxian philosophy.

"Church and State in Poland on the Eve of the Partitions" was the subject of a paper by O. P. Sherbowitz-Wetsor. The speaker viewed the political adjustment known as the partitions of Poland as the final act of a struggle between two competing political, economic, and cultural expansions—the Polish and the Russian—which was the focal point in the historical development of Eastern Europe beginning with the seventeenth century. This problem involved the problem of national minorities within the Polish commonwealth, whose separatist tendencies were systematically fostered by Russian diplomacy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The alliance of the Polish commonwealth with the Catholic Church in Poland, in order to counteract the disruptive influence of Russia acting through the Orthodox Church in Poland and that of Prussia influencing the Polish Protestants, was the major formative factor in the development of church-state relations in Poland on the eve of the partitions and the key to a clear understanding of the problems involved. The discussion leader, Mose L. Harvey, remarked that the paper had dealt with the influence of religious minorities on the decline and fall of Poland rather than with church-state relations, and he questioned certain specific propositions that had been advanced. In reply to comment and questions from the floor Mr. Sherbowitz-Wetsor stated that there was no conflict in Poland between the Catholic Church and the government. The problem of church and state in Poland was essentially a problem of the relations between the non-Polish dissenters and the state.

On the last afternoon of the annual meeting some twenty-five persons specially interested in Slavonic history met in an informal conference under the chairmanship of Mortimer Graves of the American Council of Learned Societies to consider plans for the promotion of Slavonic studies in this country in co-operation with similar groups, already existing or to be formed, within other learned societies. In order to forward this work a committee was chosen consisting of Geroid Tanquary Robinson (chairman), Michael Karpovich, Robert J. Kerner, Philip E. Mosely, and George Vernadsky.

Two of the round tables on Far Eastern history were concerned with China, the other with Japan. In "The Development of Chinese

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Foreign Policies" G. Nye Steiger emphasized the insufficiency of discussions of this subject that start with the beginning of direct relations between China and the countries of Western Europe, since the course of China's foreign policy during the last four hundred years has been determined largely by attitudes and values developed through her centuries of pre-European international contacts. After an examination of these attitudes and values the speaker remarked that China's early experiences with Europeans fully justified her in regarding them as barbarians. Following a survey in which outstanding events and trends were touched upon, the speaker observed that China's foreign policy in recent years has been based upon the old values and attitudes, minus the old claim of Chinese superiority and plus a new willingness to meet the outside world on an equal footing. The discussion leader, Cyrus H. Peake, suggested that Mr. Steiger, in his effort to show the extent to which concepts underlying earlier Chinese foreign policies were effective during the past century, had overlooked the gradual transition from the idea of the universal empire, with its complex of cultural superiority to surrounding barbarians, to the idea of the equality of sovereign states, accompanied by the taking over of Western diplomatic procedure and international law. The ensuing discussion touched upon the persistence of sectionalism and lack of political concepts of sovereignty in China and the origins of the Chinese cultural superiority complex as a determinant of policy.

Carroll B. Malone, in a paper on "New Light on the Civilization of Imperial China", remarked that the most spectacular result of the recent progress of Chinese studies has been the loss of two thousand years of what used to be considered as Chinese history. This has now been relegated to the realm of myth and legend, but some three thousand years of fairly reliable and continuous history remain to China, and the content of this field is growing. The speaker referred to the light thrown by recent archaeological excavations on the culture of the Shang, Chou, and Han dynasties and to important recent studies in Chinese philosophy and biography and in dynastic, political, social, and economic history. In conclusion he spoke of the importance of the opening of the vast archives of the late Ch'ing dynasty, which has resulted in the publication of hundreds of volumes of source material previously inaccessible. In comment on Mr. Malone's paper H. G. Creel referred to the work of K. A. Wittfogel of the International Institute of Social Research. Mr. Wittfogel, under the auspices

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of the Institute of Pacific Relations, recently directed a number of qualified Chinese scholars in Peiping in selecting from the great mass of the standard Chinese dynastic histories all passages which were deemed to bear significantly on economic and social history and in translating them into English. Publication of this material was at one time contemplated, but it now appears that Mr. Wittfogel plans only to publish works from his own pen based upon it. Mr. Creel considered this unfortunate and expressed the hope that Mr. Wittfogel and the Institute of Pacific Relations would be persuaded to publish the translated source material itself.

Robert T. Pollard took as his subject "The March of Japanese Imperialism". Neither overpopulation, he said, nor the need for raw materials and markets is adequate as an explanation of Japanese territorial expansion since the urge to expand preceded them. The spearhead of Japan's expansion on the continent of Asia has been the army, which has frequently used its power in the interest of privileged elements in Japanese society, especially the industrial capitalists, rather than in the interest of the nation as a whole. This led to a military-capitalist coalition, which broke down, however, after the unprofitable Japanese intervention in Siberia in 1918. Since then there has been a struggle for power in Japan between the militarists and the capitalists, the former inheriting the feudal tradition of military dictatorship, the latter representing parliamentarism. Japan's territorial expansion has at times been merely a consequence of the internal struggle for the control of the Japanese state. Mr. Pollard concluded that not a little of the driving force behind Japanese imperialism stems from delusions of grandeur coupled with emotional resentment at the refusal of the white races to accept the Japanese as equals. Ernest B. Price, in opening the discussion, expressed himself as in general agreement with Mr. Pollard. He suggested, however, that population pressure and need of access to raw materials and markets had been so generally accepted by the Japanese people as a justification for expansion that the belief in them as causal factors ought not to be overlooked. He thought that Mr. Pollard's thesis that Japanese expansion can be ascribed in large part to the struggle for power within Japan could be amplified. Japan's conscript armies, he pointed out, were largely drawn from the most exploited class in the country, the farmers, and it was his opinion that the military hierarchy, heirs to the traditions of the samurai class, which had headed the old feudal system of Japan, have deliberately

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exploited the grievances of the agricultural population and played them against the industrialist class. There was subsequent discussion of the ultimate objectives and probable future of Japanese imperialism.

Three outstanding dictators of Guatemala were the subjects of the round tables in Latin-American history. Lewis W. Bealer dealt with Rafael Carrera, J. Fred Rippy with Justo Rufino Barrios, and Dana G. Munro with Manuel Estrada Cabrera. Their papers made it clear that there has been an advance in dictatorial technique in Guatemala, as in other countries of Latin America. Mr. Munro pointed out that dictatorships have flourished especially in countries of large Indian or Negro population, accustomed to exploitation by a white upper class. In the discussion the dictator under consideration was compared and contrasted with other Latin-American dictators, and the following hypotheses regarding dictators were advanced and examined critically: (1) Dictators are usually produced by crises of an economic, social, and political nature; (2) dictators are champions of the status quo, reactionaries, reformers in haste, exponents of gradual change, or merely egotists bent on power and prestige.

At a luncheon conference on Hispanic American history John Tate Lanning read a paper on "The Last Stand of the Schoolmen", dealing with the intellectual revolt in Latin America against authoritarianism, which occurred during the period 1740-1800, and based upon an investigation of theses written in medieval Latin at a number of the Spanish colonial universities. According to Mr. Lanning, the movement was largely independent of the French encyclopedists. His paper is to be published in the *Hispanic American Historical Review*. In the course of some comments at the same conference Richard F. Pattee of the Division of Cultural Relations of the Department of State called attention to the creation of this division last summer with the object of conducting those cultural relations with foreign countries which had formerly been left to private initiative and enterprise. He emphasized that its work is not propagandistic. After the luncheon there was a meeting of the Conference on Latin-American History of the American Historical Association at which a new constitution for the conference was adopted. It will be published in the *Hispanic American Historical Review*.

In the field of early United States History (to 1865) there was a session on Contributions of the Old Northwest to American Life, joint sessions with the American Military History Foundation, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and the Southern Historical Associa-

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tion, and several short papers presented at a joint session with the Bibliographical Society of America, in addition to three round tables. In "The Old Northwest and American Constitutionalism" Homer C. Hockett stressed the significance of the Ordinance of 1787 in shaping the development of the constitutional system of the United States. American federalism, he recalled, is an expanding system which has admitted new commonwealths on terms of complete equality with the original members of the Union as population has spread westward. Such treatment of new communities was unique and by no means inevitable. The promise of statehood and equal rights made to them in the Ordinance of 1787, Mr. Hockett maintained, was a decisive victory in a conflict between liberal and conservative forces that began in colonial times. At the same session R. C. Buley, in a paper entitled "Some Social, Economic, and Cultural Contributions of the Old Northwest", concerned himself with "Western-mindedness" and how it affected the outlook of the people. He developed his theme by means of quotations illustrating the Western mind. Nelson Vance Russell, describing "Some Aspects of British Army Life in the Old Northwest, 1760-96" at the joint session with the American Military History Foundation, presented a close-up view of some of the daily administrative tasks of the army and of its relations with the Indians and the French inhabitants. It is only, he said, by visualizing the magnitude of the problems confronting it and the inadequacy of the means at its disposal that one can understand fully the failure of the army to maintain British ascendancy in the Old Northwest.

At the joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association a paper on "The American Missionary Association as an Anti-Slavery Society", written by Robert S. Fletcher in collaboration with Lloyd V. Hennings, gave an account of the origin of this organization and made clear its relation to the antislavery movement. The schism among the abolitionists in 1840 led to the formation of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, which, under the *alias* of the American Missionary Association, carried on an extensive program of antislavery missions. It was organized and financed by Lewis Tappan and his New York associates. Its widespread, constructive, and comparatively moderate antislavery campaign has been generally overlooked because its work was masked under the name of the American Missionary Association. In "Economic Pressures and Party Disintegration in the Great Lakes Region, 1846-48" Madison Kuhn showed that this region, having received repeated benefits from the Federal govern-

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ment for two decades prior to the inauguration of Polk, came to believe that its welfare was jeopardized under a Southern Democratic regime at Washington and that both the major parties were controlled by the slavery interests. Economic pressures, having disintegrated the old parties, might have molded the fragments into an effective new party in 1848, but an unpopular candidate—Van Buren—and the attempt of abolitionists to divert the program from antislaveholder to antislavery delayed the process. These pressures go far to explain the success of the Republican party in this region in the following decade.

"The Flight of the Confederate Cabinet", a paper presented by Alfred J. Hanna, was based on new materials, chiefly unpublished diaries and letters, discovered by the writer in the course of investigations that resulted in his recently published book, *Flight into Oblivion*. His narrative of the desperate plight of the Confederate cabinet reveals a unique and exciting episode, culminating in the arrest and imprisonment of Jefferson Davis and four of his constitutional advisers. Dallas D. Irvine's "Notes on the Fate of Confederate Archives", another paper read at the joint session with the Southern Historical Association, is to be published in a future issue of the *American Historical Review*.

Among the papers read at the joint session with the Bibliographical Society of America were "A Survey of Anti-Masonic Newspapers, 1826-34" by Milton W. Hamilton and "Commercial Printers of San Francisco from 1851 to 1885" by Henry R. Wagner. Mr. Hamilton stated that the earliest "third party" in American history was dependent upon newspapers and that a list of these papers discloses titles unknown to bibliographers. Mr. Wagner's contribution had to do chiefly with independent or job printers. He gave a short history of the two best known early job printing offices of San Francisco and of some of the more important later ones.

T. J. Wertenbaker, W. B. Hesseltine, and George M. Stephenson were the speakers at the round tables in early United States history. The first, taking as his theme "Democracy in the American Colonies", laid chief emphasis on economic factors in colonial history tending to enhance the value and dignity of the individual, though he did not overlook the importance of the colonists' English inheritance. In colonial America there were vast material resources to be exploited, demand for labor and high wages, and an advancing frontier with its equalitarian and democratic outlook. The principal antidemocratic

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elements of which the speaker took note were slavery, religious establishments, and colonial aristocracies. In the course of the discussion Curtis P. Nettels referred to the sources of the conflict between democratic and antidemocratic forces in the colonies. Marcus W. Jernegan remarked that interest in American democracy has been enlivened by the recent writings of Charles M. Andrews and William E. Dodd, Andrews affirming, in *The Colonial Period of American History,* that democracy did not exist in seventeenth century America and Dodd making the struggle to maintain democracy the central theme of his work, *The Old South.*

Mr. Hesseltine, in a paper on "The Abolitionist Movement Reconsidered", reached the conclusion, after a review of more or less familiar events and developments, that in spite of its failures, abolitionism had a profound significance for the future. Abolition societies formed the nuclei of a Northern party to combat the slavocracy, and abolition propaganda furnished the emotional content for a party that included merchants and mystics, internal improvements men and high tariff industrialists, Eastern workingmen and Western farmers. In the discussion that followed, Theodore Clarke Smith, the leader, called attention to the different interpretations that have been given to abolitionism and characterized Mr. Hesseltine's paper as a good example of modern comprehensive research and of revisionism in interpretation. In the course of remarks from the floor attention was focused mainly on Mr. Hesseltine's interpretation, which did not meet with general acceptance.

Mr. Stephenson, speaking on "The History of American Immigration", began by paying tribute to Laurence M. Larson, to whose memory the round table was inscribed on the program, and Marcus L. Hansen, two distinguished departed members of the Association who were among the pioneers in the field of immigration history. Emigration from Europe to America should not be regarded, he suggested, as a matter of importance in American history only; it is the business of students of European history to show how and why so many hundreds of thousands of Europeans crossed the Atlantic for their spiritual, economic, social, and political health. He regretted that the researches of scholars in the field of American immigration had had so little influence on general histories and textbooks. The speaker sketched the history of Scandinavian activities in the United States with regard to the collection of documents and the promotion of research. In the discussion of the paper Carl Wittke spoke of the need of expanding

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research in the history of immigration to embrace more of the cultural contributions of immigrant stocks to American civilization and illustrated this point by reference to Irish and German immigration.

Aspects of the transit of civilization and its limitations were dealt with by Mr. Wittke in an address on "Culture in Immigrant Chests" at the dinner of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and in papers read at a session on Europe and America by Frank J. Klingberg ("Ideas which did not migrate from Europe to America") and R. R. Palmer ("Ideas which did not migrate from America to Europe"). Mr. Wittke depicted with broad strokes the contributions made by immigrant stocks to American civilization. The fusion of our many diversities may be expected to go on for several generations, though, as the speaker said, the immigrant traffic has virtually come to an end. With its termination the process with which he was concerned has passed into history. Mr. Klingberg, confining his attention to Great Britain and the United States, dealt with "ideas which did not take ship and enter America, or, which arrived but did not root themselves, or, which arrived much later and then acclimatized themselves". Emigrants from England were largely lower middle class people, and there were many English ideas that they left behind them. In short, it has not been sufficiently recognized, Mr. Klingberg thought, that "a perfect piece of Old England was never floated across the Atlantic". In spite of conspicuous common elements in English and American life, the flow of ideas from England to America has not been such as to create a thoroughly homogeneous Anglo-American civilization. Limitations upon the counterflow of ideas were the subject of Mr. Palmer's paper.

In the field of later United States history Julius W. Pratt gave an exposition of "Recent Anti-Imperialism in the United States", and Harold U. Faulkner spoke on "Antecedents of New Deal Liberalism". Mr. Pratt began by remarking that the anti-imperialism dating from the Spanish-American War reached its nadir in the 1920's, when the Harding and Coolidge administrations were pursuing policies definitely imperialistic, but that about 1928 the tide began to turn. President Hoover and Secretary Stimson inaugurated a reversal of policy in the Caribbean, and the new anti-imperialism was carried further by President Franklin Roosevelt, who declared emphatically against armed intervention in other countries, accepted prohibitions of such intervention formulated at the Pan-American Conferences at Montevideo and Buenos Aires, completed the liquidation of the Haitian protectorate,

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abrogated the Platt Amendment regulating Cuban affairs, and avoided serious controversy with Mexico over American property rights. The advocates of Philippine independence as a means of excluding Philippine products and Filipino laborers combined in Congress with advocates of independence on principle to enact legislation under which the Philippines are scheduled to attain complete independence in 1946. Thus under the Roosevelt administration the anti-imperialists have seen practically all their purposes achieved. Whether this achievement is permanent or not will depend, the speaker said, upon incalculable factors. In commenting upon Mr. Pratt's paper Dexter Perkins pointed out in some detail that under the Roosevelt administration the anti-imperialist drift has not been complete and suggested that the growth of a strong ideological bias against the totalitarian states might easily be the basis for a recrudescence of imperialism.

Mr. Faulkner looked upon the New Deal as a logical continuation of a tendency toward political and economic concentration and the socialization of the state that is closely related to the philosophy and aims of the reforming era of 1900-1915. Americans, he observed, have been, variously, collectivists and "rugged individualists" as best served their purposes. There is little in the New Deal that is new, and some of its antecedents can be traced back to our earliest colonial period. Failure to recognize that American history has been marked by a rhythm of progressivism and reaction has caused many people to think of the New Deal as an abnormal phenomenon. George E. Mowry, the discussion leader, agreed with Mr. Faulkner that the roots of the New Deal lie deep in American history, but he emphasized a decided change in the temper of American liberalism in the last six years. Previously the liberal creed had exhibited a buoyant confidence in ever-increasing material rewards in the future. The New Deal, on the contrary, in attempting to equate opportunity more equitably, denied, through the implications of its scarcity legislation, the promise of such rewards. Mr. Mowry questioned whether liberalism could continue to flourish in an environment of economic pessimism.

Three papers were presented at the session on Urbanization. In a learned survey of "Urbanization in Antiquity" William Linn Westermann pointed out that city life, in the sense of considerable aggregations of human beings living in a compact area and under conditions of continuous housing, was first developed among the Greeks. The Greco-Roman idea of "city", like the modern, included the concepts of industrial activities concentrated in the urban area (though under

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the handicraft system of production), dependence for food supply upon distant as well as local "sustenance spaces", and the necessity of some degree of municipal independence. The theory of an imbalance existing in antiquity between country life and urban life, the theory, that is, of a hyperurbanization which eventually destroyed ancient culture, emanates from Robert Pöhlmann. This must be discarded, Mr. Westermann declared, in approaching the problems of urbanization in ancient history. The typical Greco-Roman city was thalassic; most of those which retained their economic or cultural functions for any length of time were on the Mediterranean seaboard. The three cities with bloated populations—Seleucia, Antioch, and Rome—were inland megalopolises and owed their untypical populations to their administrative and bureaucratic functions. The literature of ancient primitivism, Mr. Westermann remarked, shows little antiurban feeling, nor is this feeling prominent in Horace. In the satirical poetry of Juvenal and Martial it is little more than a conventionalized theme of social caricature of city life. The theory, advanced by M. I. Rostovtzeff, that the crisis of the third century after Christ exhibits the hatred of the countryside for the cities and a rural desire for their destruction is open to serious question. Robert L. Reynolds emphasized the diversity of pattern in medieval cities and the length of time during which that diversity continued. In his paper on "The Medieval City" he examined briefly the elements present in the growth and the existence of cities in the Middle Ages to see if there could be found in these elements, especially in the church, the "explanation" of the medieval city, distinguishing it from and connecting it with other types of city. His conclusion was that the church, while it helped to differentiate the medieval city from others, provides an unsatisfactory point of approach. In his opinion, the economic explanation, with reliance upon the Pirenne thesis, helps us to appreciate the forces underlying origins and varied political, social, and artistic patterns of development. Arthur M. Schlesinger, speaking on "The City in American History", observed that urban life has been a subject much neglected by professional historians and developed the thesis that from colonial times onward the city has exerted a vital and ever-growing influence on American politics and culture.

One of the most illuminating sessions of the entire meeting was a symposium on "History, Science, and Society", held jointly by the Association and the History of Science Society, at which the principal speakers were Frederick Barry, William E. Lingelbach, and Henry E.

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Sigerist. Mr. Barry began an exceptionally stimulating address by remarking that before the subject could be profitably considered it would be necessary to agree as to the meaning of the term "science". Then, denying the humanistic contention that this word refers to the sum total of all human knowledge and conjecture and supporting this denial by appeal to common usage, he argued that the conception of the student of nature himself must be accepted; for if the useful discriminations of ordinary speech respecting science, technology, ethics, metaphysics, and theology be willfully ignored, the essential character, and thus the significance, of scientific thought and practice cannot be intelligently appreciated. This conception having been formulated, the speaker enlarged upon the unique value of the historical study of science. Thereafter the respective qualifications of the scientist, the philosopher, and the historian to direct the study were discussed, and the conclusion was reached that this responsibility must be assigned to the historian, despite the handicap of his almost exclusively humanistic interests, since his habit of thought, necessarily genetic, is also wholly empirical, inductive, and skeptical—that is to say, scientific.

Mr. Lingelbach followed with a consideration of the prevailing attitude of historians toward the history of science as reflected in textbooks and general histories. Especially interesting were the citations from one or two recent authors to illustrate the manner in which the story of science and technology can be successfully integrated with the history of civilization in general. Histories of science and histories of particular branches of science suffered, in the speaker's opinion, from a lack of historical training on the part of the authors and were therefore too detached from the historical environment in which the science developed.

Mr. Sigerist dealt with the history of medicine as one aspect of the history of civilization, dwelling upon the historical importance of epidemics and endemics, of social attitudes toward disease, of social demands for medical services, etc. He advocated the establishment of an institute for the history of science similar in character to the existing Institute for Medical History at the Johns Hopkins University. In a lively discussion which followed, various relevant questions were raised, among others the role of the history of technology as a link between the history of science and social history in general and the possibility of reshaping history curricula with a view to giving teachers of history some knowledge of the history of science.

At the session on the philosophy of history Max Horkheimer spoke

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on "Hegel and the Present World Situation", and Frank H. Knight offered "A Critique of the Economic Interpretation of History". Mr. Horkheimer undertook the difficult task of making clear the significance of Hegel's philosophy of history for contemporary historical writing. It is very important, he thought, to eradicate the misconception that Hegel is nothing more than a forerunner and proponent of the ideology of the authoritarian power state. The state which Hegel glorifies is not the state in the purely political sense of a power apparatus, but the state which satisfies the needs and interests of man and permits the freedom of the individual. The state is a realization of reason only when the universal interest and the interests of individuals are identical within it. Mr. Knight considered what is meant by "economic" as an interpretative concept, in the phenomena of human behavior in general and in history in particular. The expression "economic interpretation", he argued, is used with diverse and contradictory meanings. After some analysis of the possibilities in the way of concepts to be used in the interpretation of history, he concluded that it is necessary to take a pluralistic view of historical process and causality as against any unique explanatory principle, and he severely criticized the Marxian position.

At a session on Historical Method St. George L. Sioussat paid his respects to the new "portraitist" school of biography. In a paper on "Portraiture in Biography, and Historical Method", in which seriousness of purpose was enlivened by touches of humor, he referred to the wide vogue of the portrait analogy in the discussion of recent biographies, pointing out for the benefit of the new biographers and their readers that the painted portrait itself is by no means necessarily reliable as a historical source. A consideration of the attitude of Strachey, Maurois, Ludwig, and Gamaliel Bradford led to the conclusion that portraitist biography is marked by the element of subjectivity, the position of the artist as controlling his material. A leading tenet of the new school is the "humanizing" of biography, a process which, Mr. Sioussat observed, may interfere with the differentiation which is inherent in genuine portraiture. Psychology is greatly stressed by the portraitists, but the speaker had his doubts as to the scientific character of this approach. In conclusion he cited, from contemporary biography, some illustrations of the points made in his paper.

As at previous annual meetings, there was a luncheon conference attended by the editorial staffs of historical journals. Henry E. Bourne, formerly Managing Editor of the *American Historical Review,* at

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whose initiative the first editorial conference was held in 1929, was present and spoke briefly on the origins of the conferences, their aim, and the mode of conducting them at first. They grew out of a feeling that editors could do their work more effectively if they were better acquainted with one another and had an opportunity to talk over their problems informally. Mr. Bourne suggested the propriety of a committee to consider how the conferences could be made more helpful in the future, and the chairman, Arthur C. Cole, having been duly authorized to do so, appointed such a committee. Those present at the luncheon had the privilege of listening to an interesting account by Douglas C. McMurtrie of the editorial program of the Historical Records Survey for the preparation and publication of archive inventories.

The only sessions which did not have to compete with others for the interest of members were the evening session on Urbanization, the annual dinner, at which the president of the Association, Frederic L. Paxson, delivered an address on "The Great Demobilization" (published in our last issue), the complimentary luncheon referred to above, and the business meeting. At all of these except the last the attendance was very large. It is altogether unfortunate that so few members take the business meetings seriously. They have sometimes been lacking, no doubt, in general interest, but this has not always been the case, and it was distinctly not the case at Chicago. Matters of great importance to the Association as a whole, including the establishment of a new popular historical magazine under its auspices and of a new class of associate members, were passed upon, at the fag end of an afternoon when adequate debate was impossible, in a meeting attended by fewer than 150 members. It should be said in fairness, however, that the attendance would unquestionably have been much larger if it had been generally known in advance that such proposals were to be made.[1]

THE EDITORS.

[1] Some account of the business meeting is given in Historical News below.

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NATIONALITY AT THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE

An Anglo-French Dispute

Everyone in these days talks of nationalism and views with satisfaction or dismay the spread of the idea of nationality around the globe from Europe to Cathay. A few have the curiosity to wonder when and how this idea first made its appearance in modern Europe but find among the learned no agreed answer as yet to their question. One may recall Luther's appeals to folk consciousness as a force to array Germans against an Italian pope or look back a century earlier to the enthusiasm kindled by Jeanne d'Arc for the deliverance of France from the alien English or discover still earlier traces of discrimination between peoples on ground of differences in blood, manners, language, climate, or political allegiance and call these the beginnings of nationalism.[1]

It is doubtless impossible to name any event of which one may confidently assert that it reveals a modern nation in the very act of emerging into conscious existence, a nation, that is to say, as distinct from an earlier clan, tribe, province, or kingdom. But one may take it as presumptive proof that something at least resembling what we now call nationalism had arrived when one discovers the word "natio" defined in almost a modern sense in the course of an argument at the Council of Constance over the right of one people to rank as a nation in that international assembly. The phenomenon, one would suppose, must even have existed for a considerable time when an old word is interpreted in a new way to give it a name, especially when the phenomenon is not so much a new material creation as a new social complex of attitudes and relationships, marking a new shift in popular interests and loyalties of the sort that comes about slowly and is seldom remarked at once. A few years previously another old word had been given a fresh definition. "Humanitas" and "studia humanitatis" meant in the fourteenth century something different from what they had meant to Cicero or to the twelfth and thirteenth century schools. But

[1] For evidence of so-called German national feeling as far back as Charlemagne see K. G. Hugelmann, "Die deutsche Nation und der deutsche Nationalstaat im Mittelalter", *Historisches Jahrbuch*, LI (1931), 1-29, 445-84.

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the movement for the revival of classical letters was in its third generation before the old word was reinterpreted to furnish it a name.[2]

In the Middle Ages the word "natio", whether in Latin or in one of its vernacular forms, had been used in several senses, each of them simpler than the modern. At times it had merely the old Roman meaning of "gens" or "familia", family, kindred, a group of persons nearly related by blood. Hear the Wife of Bath lamenting:

> Allas! that any of my nacioun
> Sholde evere so foule disparaged be![3]

In the plural it might take on the more comprehensive sense, in which it had been used by Cicero and St. Jerome, of "gentes", "populi", the indefinite hordes of humankind outside either the Roman state or the Jewish or Christian scheme of salvation. "Salve nos fac Domine Deus noster et congrega nos de nationibus", the Psalmist prayed.[4] Or, in a medieval context, it might denote the countryside in which a man was born, his native region, "patria". "Qui por amor de vos avoie ma terre lessiee et la douçor de ma nacion", protests the king of Sarras to Joseph of Arimathea in a thirteenth century romance of the Holy Grail.[5] Or, finally, it might mean any group of persons connected by bonds of common traits or pursuits, especially if to these were added further ties of common birthplace, language, or habitation.

> Among the gentil nacion
> Love is an occupacion,

sang Gower, with the gentlefolk of all Europe in his mind.[6] Whereas Wyclif was indubitably thinking only of men bred in England when he spoke of "gospels of Crist written in Englische, to moost lernyng of oure nacioun".[7]

The bands of foreign merchants who established themselves for trade in medieval cities and of masters of arts in medieval universities, organized on the basis of the provenance of their members, were called "nations". In both merchant community and university the primary requirement for the erection of a nation seems to have been the

[2] Coluccio Salutati, *Epistolario*, ed. by Francesco Novati (4 vols. in 5, Rome, 1891-1911), III, 534-36.

[3] Chaucer, *Wife of Bath's Tale*, ll. 212-13.

[4] Vulgate, Psalm CV, 47; King James's version, CVI, 47.

[5] *La queste del Saint Graal*, ed. by Albert Pauphilet (Paris, 1923), 34, ll. 2-3. This reference I owe to Miss Winifred Sturdevant.

[6] John Gower, *Confessio amantis*, bk. IV, ll. 1451-52.

[7] *Select English Works of John Wyclif*, ed. by Thomas Arnold (3 vols., Oxford, 1869-71), III, 393.

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presence of enough men from a single locality, speaking the same dialect and addicted to the same habits, to function as a unit for the purpose in view. The relative size or importance of the locality whence they came mattered not at all. The silk merchants of Lucca had their nations in Genoa, Rome, Paris, Bruges, and London.[8] At the University of Paris the nation from the comparatively small home province of the Isle de France counted for as much as the nation that included the masters from all England and Germany. In most universities the number of nations was early fixed by custom at four, and thereafter men from regions without a nation of their own were assigned to membership in that one of the four which seemed geographically most appropriate. Once started, the life of these nations went on under their elected officers, proctors, receptors, beadles, and the like, with little or no more reference, apparently, to the home region, except when it became necessary to draw more clearly the boundary that separated one region from another in order to determine to which of two nations a newcomer at the university belonged.[9] After all, the members were in Paris or Orleans or Toulouse for their own individual advancement, and the nations existed for their convenience and for nothing else.[10]

The nations that presently appeared at ecumenical church councils, however, were from the outset a somewhat different thing.[11] We hear of them first at Lyons in 1274, when Gregory X, in order to drive through, against the resistance of his cardinals, some measures of reform relating especially to the conduct of papal elections, met the archbishops and abbots of the council "by nations" secretly between sessions and at these meetings got their written consent to his proposals. The cardinals retorted by holding meetings of nations too, but quite in vain.[12] At Vienne, in 1311-12, when the business of the Knights

[8] James Westfall Thompson, *Economic and Social History of Europe in the Later Middle Ages, 1300-1530* (New York, 1931), p. 253.

[9] See Gray C. Boyce, "The Controversy over the Boundary between the English and Picard Nations in the University of Paris", *Études d'histoire dédiées à la mémoire de Henri Pirenne* (Brussels, 1937).

[10] Boyce, *The English-German Nation in the University of Paris during the Middle Ages* (Bruges, 1927), pp. 14-15, 25-28.

[11] The common practice of comparing the nations of church councils with university nations tends to obscure the difference, as, for example, in Boyce, *English-German Nation*, p. 13; A. Diehl, "Heiliges Römisches Reich Deutscher Nation", *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLVI, 461; Eustace J. Kitts, *Pope John the Twenty-third and Master John Hus of Bohemia* (London, 1910), p. 282; M. Creighton, *History of the Papacy from the Great Schism to the Sack of Rome* (London, 1899-1901), I, 318.

[12] G. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, XXIV, 66.

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Templars was pending, Clement V conferred with certain archbishops whom he had caused to be elected for the purpose from several kingdoms and called for the final votes of the prelates in order of their "nations", Italians first, then Spaniards, Germans, Danes, English, Scotch, Irish, and French.[13] At both councils it seems clear that the pope utilized the deepseated differences that existed between these various groups of clergy to break up the unity that properly should have characterized an ecclesiastical assembly and impose his own will. At Vienne, certainly, the nations were divided along the main regional and political lines of Western Europe, all Italians together, and likewise all Spaniards, all Germans, all Scandinavians, and all Frenchmen. Only the delegates from the small kingdoms of the British Isles, clustering in little groups, amalgamated no further.

At Pisa, in 1409, there was but one nation from the British Isles, and the character and purpose of all the nations were still more altered. Called by the cardinals in the hope of ending the Great Schism and lacking the sanction of either pope or emperor, this council had to justify somehow its assumption of power, and to do so fell back on the theories of Marsiglio of Padua, William of Ockham, and their followers, to wit, that a general council represented the universal church and hence possessed full authority, even without a pope, to act for the good of the church, that it was, in fact, superior to a pope. Under such circumstances it was eminently desirable that the most influential peoples and governments who had sent deputations to its sessions should feel that their views were indeed represented in the conduct of proceedings. As a way to ensure this result, the envoys from Italy, France, Germany, and Britain, of their own accord, began meeting apart, each group by itself, and appointing a spokesman to present their opinions to the council. Robert Hallam, bishop of Salisbury, was the mouthpiece for "the English nation" and Simon de Cramaud, who carried the title of patriarch of Alexandria, for the French and Provençal nation.[14] There were no representatives from Spain, which still remained loyal to the pope at Avignon.

By general consent membership on important commissions was divided among these four nations.[15] They each chose deputies to

[13] Ewald Müller, *Das Konzil von Vienne, 1311-1312, seine Quellen und seine Geschichte,* in the Vorreformationsgeschichtliche Forschungen (Münster, 1934), pp. 99, 108, 113-14.

[14] *Chronique du religieux de Saint-Denis* (Paris, 1839-52), bk. xxx, ch. 3, Vol. IV, pp. 228, 230, in the Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France.

[15] Mansi, XXVI, 1219; XXVII, 7, 266.

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attend the meetings of the cardinals, who were acting as official heads of the assembly, in order to report back what was said and done there.[16] Still sitting separately, each nation came to its own decision on the questions at issue and voted as a unit when it met the other nations in sessions of the council as a whole.[17] These nations were definitely representative bodies, basing their claim to a voice not on the number or status of the members present at Pisa but on the power and importance of the land whence they came. The English were one of the four nations, although in that gathering of over five hundred there were said to be only fifteen Englishmen.[18]

Five years later the Council of Constance was convened by a pope and an emperor-elect and attended by them both, but there was still schism and discord in Europe and no universally accepted head. Again, therefore, the authority of the council was declared to rest on its representative character, and again the four nations promptly appeared, this time as even more aggressive elements in the situation, with positive wills and policies of their own.[19] When in February, 1415, it was necessary to begin voting on a method to end the schism and Pope John XXIII's host of Italians threatened to outvote all the others, the English and the Germans proposed that each nation should again cast its vote in the sessions as a unit, no count being taken of individuals. The French nation, after some hesitation, concurred. In this way the nations at Constance became, as at Pisa, constituent parts of the council and the council itself distinctly a federation of nations under the sanction of the emperor. For a time even the cardinals were forbidden to act or vote as a college and were instructed to join their nations. The nations were formally organized, each with its president, deputies, and notaries, its seal and bank of seats in the cathedral, and its private hall

[16] *Ibid.*, XXVII, 7-8.

[17] Anonymous letter to the Council of Constance, Heinrich Finke, ed., *Acta Concilii Constanciensis* (Münster, 1896-1928), III, 101.

[18] There were but eight members in the English royal delegation, Jacques Lenfant, *Histoire du Concile de Pise* (Amsterdam, 1724), p. 26.

[19] The council was opened on November 5, 1414. On December 7 there were speakers for the Italian and the English nations. A. Fillastre, "Gesta Concilii Constantiensis", in Finke, II, 17; Cerretano, "Liber gestorum", Finke, II, 197. Not long afterward Cardinal d'Ailly proposed that a committee on order of procedure be appointed, with members chosen from each nation, to prepare business between sessions. Hermann von der Hardt, *Magnum oecumenicum Constantiense Concilium* (6 vols. in 4, Frankfurt, 1700), II, 197. He repeated the suggestion in January. Finke, III, 55. On January 7 the envoys from the University of Cologne wrote of attending meetings of the German nation. Edmond Martene and Ursin Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum* (Paris, 1717), II, 1610.

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of meeting, where it assembled regularly three mornings a week to discuss and vote on each question as it arose. The votes of the nations having been harmonized by the efforts of the commission of general deputies or central steering board, composed of representatives from each nation, the council gathered in stately session in the cathedral and publicly ratified the conclusions already reached by the nations in their separate meetings.[20]

As to what groups should be recognized as nations for purposes of separate participation in the council there seems at the beginning to have been no dispute. No Spaniards joined the council during the first year, and the Italians, French, Germans, and English carried over from Pisa without, apparently, much opposition. For a moment the Emperor Sigismund hoped that his Hungarians might be admitted as a fifth nation, but his wish, however it may have been expressed, was disregarded.[21] Hungarians, Czechs, Poles, Danes, and Swedes joined the German nation and made what impression they could on its proceedings. The Italian nation took in the prelates from Dalmatia, Cyprus, and Greece. Yet it was understood that, ideally at least, each nation was distinguished from the rest by some degree of homogeneity in its membership, particularly as regarded language. The French nation embraced the delegates from Savoy, Provence, and much of Lorraine, provinces of the Empire, because they spoke the French tongue and were therefore of that nation.[22] At the same time the word "nation" was frequently used to denote the people at home represented by the nation at Constance. They were also a unity of some sort, linguistic, geographic, or racial.

Contemporary writers describing the organization at Constance seem not as a rule to have remarked any particular resemblance between it and the familiar organization of the universities, beyond the fact that in both there was corporate voting.[23] On the other hand, every now and again there are references to current theories of corporate representation in law, politics, or business and to the responsibilities of the nations at the council to the greater nations at home. "As

[20] For more details of this procedure see Louise R. Loomis, "The Organization by Nations at Constance", *Church History*, I (1932), 191-210.

[21] Only one chronicler mentions this ambition of Sigismund: William of Turre, "Acta concilii", Finke, II, 351.

[22] Bibliothèque nationale MS. Latin, 1450, fol. 62^{r}, quoted by Noël Valois, *La France et le grand schisme d'Occident* (4 vols., Paris, 1896-1902), IV, 283, n. 2.

[23] Peter de Pulka, envoy from the University of Vienna, writes back to his colleagues that the nations at Constance vote as faculties do in universities. "Epistolae", II (Feb. 7, 1415), in *Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichts-Quellen*, XV, 14.

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the rights of an entire college or corporation", said an English spokesman, "may be lodged, we know, in one person or two, so the rights of a whole nation may and should reside in one or two persons in a general council, for they represent not themselves alone but innumerable others."[24] The French demanded a reform of the annates system so that when they returned home "they might report the efforts they had made to the princes, prelates, and other clergy who had stayed behind and not be thought to have acquiesced tamely in abuses".[25]

The organization by nations at Constance seemed at first thoroughly successful. It reduced the Italian vote to one in four, put through rapidly the deposition of John XXIII and the execution of John Hus, received the abdication of Gregory XII, and started proceedings against Benedict XIII. In July, 1415, Sigismund left Constance on a trip to the south to win over the Spaniards, Benedict's sole remaining supporters. In Sigismund's absence the council was to take up the needed work of reform and the further eradication of heresy. And herewith began the troubles within and between the nations that reached their climax in the French attack on the right of England to retain her status as one of the four nations that made up the council.

The mood of elation that had marked the earlier months of accomplishment faded when the council was faced with issues no longer comparatively simple but complicated and distorted by every sort of prejudice and passion, political, institutional, and personal. Practically everyone but a few negligible Bohemians had agreed on the condemnation of Hus, but when it came to Jean Petit and his doctrine of tyrannicide, it was a different matter. From the outset the French nation at Constance had been the least united, reflecting, as it did, the divisions in the country whence it came and combining in one uneasy company the ambassadors of Charles VI, then under the domination of the Orleanist party, the deputies of the duke of Burgundy, himself almost an independent sovereign and the Orleanists' mortal enemy, the delegates from the nobility, clergy, and universities of the French kingdom at large, loyal for the most part to their poor, crazed king but distrustful of both the violent parties that fought for possession of his unhappy person, and, finally, the envoys from the French-speaking

[24] Hardt, V, 97.

[25] French nation, "Declaratio de annatis non solvendis", *ibid.*, I, 785. See also the unwillingness professed by the French to embark on new business that might impede their carrying out of the mandate with which they were sent to Constance, as described below, pp. 519-20. For a description of the election of representatives from the French clergy to the council see Valois, IV, 256 ff.

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provinces of the Empire with their varying interests and points of view. The case of Petit split the nation wide apart. The royal ambassadors, supported by Jean Gerson, chancellor of the University of Paris, and by the most eminent French cardinal, Pierre d'Ailly, called on the council to condemn the perilous and heretical theory of tyrannicide as propounded by Doctor Jean Petit in order to defend the duke of Burgundy's murder of the king's younger brother, the duke of Orleans, in 1407. The theory had already been condemned by an episcopal court at Paris. A special panel of judges from different nations was accordingly appointed, as for the case of Hus. But the agents of Burgundy, among whom was Bishop Pierre Cauchon, later to win greater notoriety at the trial of Jeanne d'Arc, resorted to every ingenious argument, counteraccusation, and threat and eventually prevailed on the court to confine its inquiry to the question of the legality of the episcopal trial at Paris and, in January, 1416, to annul the verdict as irregular and void.

This signal victory obtained by the Burgundians over the representatives of Charles VI aroused a storm of bitter discussion that raged through the following spring and summer and exacerbated many of the meetings of the council. An additional cause of French unhappiness was the news of the disaster to the king's forces at Agincourt, in October, 1415, and of the subsequent English advance through Normandy. In the summer of 1416 the French complained that business of importance to everyone was being smuggled through the commission of general deputies without the knowledge of the nations. The deputies from the French nation then on the commission happened to include several Burgundian sympathizers. Their president was known to be on close terms with Sigismund.[26] There was a feeling that French interests were being sacrificed by the treacherous Burgundians to the English and the Germans. An attempt on the part of a French contingent to join with the cardinals and the Italians to bring about the adoption of stricter rules of order, requiring open and thorough discussion of every matter by both college and nations, was foiled by English and German opposition.[27]

The resentment of the French royalist party against the Burgundians and their associates, the Anglo-German bloc, was intensified

[26] The president was Jean Mauroux, patriarch of Antioch, "a snake in the grass", D'Ailly called him.

[27] On this episode see Fillastre, "Gesta", Finke, II, 65, 71, 72, and Peter de Pulka's letter of August 29, 1416, *Arch. Kunde Öst. Gesch.*, XV, 48. The text of the proposed rules is in Finke, II, 742-58.

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still more by the news that arrived early in the fall of 1416 that Sigismund in the course of his travels had abandoned his original notion of acting as impartial mediator between the French and English kings and had signed a treaty of active alliance with Henry V and met the duke of Burgundy in amicable conference;[28] also, that the duke had sent instructions to his subjects at Constance to co-operate in every way with the English and the Germans.[29] The one consolation lay in the arrival of a small but proportionately haughty embassy from Aragon, who demanded as the price of their joining the council a place in it suitable to their dignity, certainly not the last seats in the cathedral, below the English.[30]

In the midst of simmering agitation, on October 1, 1416, Cardinal d'Ailly read to a meeting in the parish church of St. Paul his newly finished treatise, *De ecclesiastica potestate,* which contained, along with a scholarly defense of conciliar authority in general, a short but sharp attack on the national system, which he with his nation had once accepted. It had, he announced, by this time gone far to destroy the essential nature of a church council, its unity. "Do the four nations, as distinguished in this sacred council . . . excluding the college of cardinals, in fact constitute a general council?" he asked. "Are they not rather several particular councils, very unequally and disproportionately divided, coming to separate conclusions?" Granted that under the circumstances some division of the membership had been desirable at the beginning, there were precedents to indicate how it should have been carried out. Pope Benedict XII, in his bull *Vas electionis,* had divided the Roman obedience into four parts: the first comprising France, Navarre, and Majorca; the second, Germany, England, Hungary, Poland, Norway, Denmark, etc.; the third, the Spanish kingdoms; and the fourth, Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Greece, Slavonia, and Cyprus. Now that the Spaniards were assuming their rightful place in the council, the reason for the continuance of England as a separate nation existed no longer. The council should be reorganized on the lines laid down by Benedict XII and England reduced to her proper position as a part of the great German nation.

[28] When Sigismund left Constance, the duke of Burgundy was his hardly concealed enemy, and Sigismund went south by way of Savoy to avoid the risk of journeying through Burgundian territory.

[29] Letter of the duke of Burgundy, Aug. 26, 1416, in Joannes Gerson, *Opera,* ed. by Du Pin (5 vols., Antwerp, 1706), V, 672-73.

[30] D'Ailly, "Responsiones ad quaedam interrogatoria", Gerson, V, 693.

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As additional proof to show the subordinate place England should occupy, D'Ailly cited a second bull of Benedict XII, which divided Western Christendom into thirty-six provinces for the holding of local synods by the Black Monks of St. Benedict. One of these provinces embraced the two sees of Canterbury and York. By this ruling, then, all England constituted just one thirty-sixth of the Roman obedience. How absurd to permit her to play the part of one fourth or even, after Spain was admitted as a nation, of one fifth! If she were to continue as a separate nation, all the great nations of the council should be divided into smaller nations, each equivalent to England and each with a vote. Otherwise the ancient canonical method of voting in councils by individuals should be restored.[31]

D'Ailly's assault on the national system seems not at first to have been taken seriously by the council at large. There were more pressing subjects to consider—the tedious proceedings against Benedict XIII and the terms on which Aragon might be induced to combine with Castile, Portugal, and Navarre to form the new Spanish nation.[32] It was fantastic at this juncture to suggest upsetting the whole conciliar framework and destroying the balance of power that had lasted so long. The English, however, were outraged at what they considered a gratuitous insult to their nation[33] and were suspicious thenceforth of the slightest gesture of Frenchman or Spaniard that seemed to cast a slur upon their standing in the council. The following incident reflects their feeling. A routine document was being stamped, as usual, with the seals of the approving nations. A notary had affixed five pieces of wax to the bottom of the paper to receive the impressions of five seals, the Aragonese being invited as a matter of courtesy to add theirs. The presidents of the Italian, French, and German nations had stamped their seals on the first three bits of wax. The president of the Aragonese got the paper next and set his seal on the fourth. The president of the English had the paper last. He effaced the seal of Aragon, stamped the English in its place, and wrote above the fifth wax: "The same for Spain." The Aragonese thereupon refused to sit in the council until they were given fourth place, above the English. They talked of not

[31] D'Ailly, "De ecclesiastica potestate", Hardt, VI, 15-78; also in Gerson, II, 925-60. On the general argument of this treatise see Agnes E. Roberts, *Pierre d'Ailly and the Council of Constance*, in the *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th ser., XVIII, 132-38.

[32] Fillastre, "Gesta", Finke, II, 71-76.

[33] D'Ailly, "Responsiones", Gerson, V, 693.

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regarding the English as a nation at all. For eight days business was at a standstill while desperate efforts were made to restore peace and placate the Spanish wrath.[34]

For November 1, the feast of All Saints, Cardinal d'Ailly had been appointed celebrant of High Mass and preacher in the cathedral. Bishop Hallam of Salisbury, leader of the English at Constance as at Pisa, convinced that D'Ailly would seize the occasion to repeat to a larger audience his denunciation of the organization by nations, persuaded Count Palatine Ludwig of Bavaria, whom Sigismund had left as chief lay guardian of the council, to see that D'Ailly had orders to refrain from introducing the dangerous topic into his sermon. D'Ailly obeyed as far as his cathedral sermon was concerned, though he filled it full of solemn warnings against errors of faith, scandals, and dissensions,[35] but on that same day, in another place, a substitute read for him a series of propositions, "Canones reformandi ecclesiam", in which he referred again to the defects of the system at Constance. Church councils should not be divided into nations representing kingdoms, for "such a mode of division is secular rather than ecclesiastical and foments disputes over superiority or priority". They should be divided on ecclesiastical principles, as laid down in the past; there should be no intrusion of lay politics.[36]

The interference, such as it was, with D'Ailly's right to say what he pleased in his cathedral address gave him and his supporters, the French royal ambassadors, a new grievance, the value of which they were quick to appreciate.[37] On several previous occasions the council had upheld the right of liberty of speech for all its members.[38] D'Ailly now prepared a formal protest to be read in the approaching general session of November 5, but the English and the Germans heard of it beforehand and sent notice to the college of cardinals to intervene and

[34] Fillastre, "Gesta", Finke, II, 77.

[35] Extracts from this sermon are given by Paul Tschackert, *Peter von Ailli* (Gotha, 1877), pp. 46-50 of the appendix.

[36] D'Ailly, "Canones reformandi ecclesiam", Hardt, I, 409-33.

[37] D'Ailly, "Responsiones", Gerson, V, 693.

[38] In his imperial writs of summons to Constance, Sigismund had promised that speech and act there should be free. Hardt, VI, 5-6. Pope John XXIII had repeated the promise in his address at the first session. *Ibid.*, IV, 16-19. In January, 1415, the count palatine himself and the bishops of Worms, Speyer, and Verden had made the preservation of free speech a condition of their adhesion to the council. *Ibid.*, II, 207. The council had stood resolutely for the principle against Sigismund. Cerretano, "Liber", Finke, II, 202-206. One of its charges against John XXIII had been his attempts to prevent free debate. Finke, III, 61-63, 66-74.

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stop it. Otherwise, they said, neither Germans nor English would attend the session, and the scheduled steps in the case against Benedict XIII would be indefinitely delayed. The cardinals informed D'Ailly, who reluctantly agreed to content himself for the moment with reading the protest to the college alone. But the incident of the seal still rankled in the breasts of the Aragonese, and in the following session they precipitated the disturbance it had been hoped to avert by announcing positively their intention not to regard the English thenceforth as a nation. The bishops of Salisbury, London, Bath, Lichfield, and Norwich and the noble ambassadors of Henry V leaped to their feet and, as soon as quiet could be restored, registered their protests against the unwarranted aspersions of Aragon. Before the day was over there were clashes between French and English men-at-arms and belligerent parades with daggers, swords, and clubs through the cathedral and the city streets. D'Ailly and the French royal ambassadors were warned to stay indoors.[39]

Next day D'Ailly appeared in a meeting of the French nation to ask its approval of a new protest he was making in the name of the king and realm of France against the violence and intimidation to which he was subjected by the king's enemies, the English and their confederates. In his person the honor of the king and the realm of France was being assailed. He might indeed do well to stay away from the council thereafter, for in such a state of tumult and insecurity it could accomplish nothing and would probably be dissolved.[40] The French nation, however, deliberated and returned a cool and sober reply. It would have no hand in the protest, first, because it had not been consulted about the previous protest; second, because, with no special mandate from home, it disapproved thoroughly of the attempt to alter the constitution of the council at this time and deprive the English nation of its standing. Such an attempt was peculiarly ill advised at a moment when a truce had been signed between the kings of France and England, which, it was hoped, might develop into a permanent peace.[41] The English would manifestly die sooner than surrender the honor they had enjoyed so long. They would never

[39] *Acta* for Session XXIII, Hardt, IV, 960-61; D'Ailly, "Responsiones", Gerson, V, 693-94; Fillastre, "Gesta", Finke, II, 78-79; envoy from the University of Cologne, letter of Nov. 16, 1416, Martene and Durand, II, 1667.

[40] D'Ailly, "Protestationes lectae in natione Gallicana", Gerson, V, 696-97.

[41] A truce had been signed on October 3, which lasted until February 2 of the following year.

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submit meekly to such ignominy. The French nation was aware of no grievances sufficient to make it forget the solemn obligation, laid upon it by princes and superiors at home, to labor for peace and reform in the church. To join the movement started by D'Ailly would be to prepare the way for new divisions and new wars.[42]

With no large following even among the French and only the handful of fire-eating Aragonese besides to back them, D'Ailly and the royal ambassadors were in an isolated position. The Aragonese too were losing interest since the Germans, acting the part of magnanimous hosts of the council, had offered them for the time being their own place as third nation and declared their willingness to take the last place themselves.[43] Meanwhile the lay potentates in charge of the council, Count Palatine Ludwig and Burgrave Friedrich Hohenzollern of Nuremberg, with a number of prominent German bishops, had come to the college of cardinals and stated their conviction that D'Ailly's complaints of insecurity were damaging to the status of the holy council and a reflection on the honor of the serene king of the Romans and of the count palatine himself. Confronted with this formidable opposition, D'Ailly succumbed, confessed that he had no fears for his personal safety, and affirmed that he had not meant to impugn the honor of the Roman king or to imply that either the count palatine or the burgrave had failed in his duty of preserving liberty in the council.

With these admissions on D'Ailly's part the cardinals professed themselves satisfied. The count palatine, however, prompted, it was said, by the English, went on to call a large meeting of prelates and notables from every nation and lay before them the charge against D'Ailly as disturber of the peace. Deputies came to D'Ailly to discuss the situation and impress on him the necessity of allaying the excitement and allowing the council to proceed with its work unimpeded. D'Ailly irritably replied that he had already done what was asked of him to appease the count palatine and saw no more that he could do. He was sure that the bishop of Salisbury was behind the count's hostility. Everyone knew that the English had the Germans on their side.[44]

[42] French nation, "Motiva propter quae regnicolae Franciae non debent adhaerere protestationibus", Gerson, V, 697-99.

[43] Envoy from the University of Cologne, Martene and Durand, II, 1667; Fillastre, "Gesta", Finke, II, 81-82.

[44] Fillastre, "Gesta", Finke, II, 79; D'Ailly, "Responsiones", in reply to the questioning of the deputies, Gerson, V, 692-96.

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D'Ailly was thus effectively silenced, but now the ambassadors of Charles VI came forward to state with dignity that their duty to their king compelled them to make a public explanation of their position, and they secured from the count palatine permission to do so at some future session. Matters, however, temporarily went no further, although during the Christmas season feeling again ran high. Once more the count palatine was called in to calm the contestants, and Christmas mass was celebrated by the Germans and the English in one church, by the cardinals, the French, and the Italians in another, and by the Spaniards in a third.[45] At last came the long anticipated return of Sigismund to Constance, toward the end of January, 1417. Any lingering hope, however, that the French may have cherished of finding a fair arbiter in him must have been dashed by the mode of his entry into the city. He was wearing the collar of the Garter, newly bestowed on him by his beloved ally, Henry V, and he singled out the English, in the throng who went out to meet him, for handclasps and other conspicuous signs of friendship. D'Ailly had planned to deliver a speech of welcome at the cathedral, in which he might have commended himself and the French to Sigismund's kindness, but Hallam of Salisbury hurried on ahead and got possession of the pulpit for an exuberant eulogy on the text, "He shall be great in the sight of the Lord." By the time he was through, Sigismund, hungry and tired, would listen to no one else.[46]

The French ambassadors waited a few days and then, aware that a move of some sort was imperative, sent a delegation to the emperor with an offer to drop all efforts to alter the constitution of the council on condition that they be allowed to make one statement of their grievances at a public session and then refer them to the consideration of the future pope. For answer Sigismund appointed a commission, which immediately drew up a resolution for presentation to the council by the terms of which the latter pledged itself to permit no prejudice to the right of "any nation here principally represented" and no increase or diminution in their number and enjoined future councils to

[45] *Ulrichs von Richental Chronik,* ed. by Michael Richard Buck (Tübingen, 1882), pp. 96-97. Not long after this time the English must have received the letters patent issued by Henry V on December 2, appointing Hallam, two other bishops, Lords John Tiptoft and Hertonk van Clux, and Master Philip Morgan, doctor of laws, as proctors and ambassadors to treat with the clerical and secular princes and nobles of the Empire for their oaths of fealty and aid to himself, in return for annual money pensions as fiefs. Thomas Rymer, *Foedera* (London, 1704-35), IX, 412-13.

[46] Letter of John Forester to Henry V, Feb. 2, 1417, in Rymer, IX, 434.

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continue the system of organization by nations, "as the Holy Spirit hath inspired us". A copy of this resolution Sigismund himself took to the house of Cardinal d'Ailly, whom he found in conference with another French cardinal, Fillastre, and the royal ambassadors. What words D'Ailly used to the emperor on his abrupt appearance we do not hear, but Fillastre, who tells the story, says that after a glance at the paper he himself burst into a hot defense of his friends' conduct, insisting that "there had been no scandals in the council but those the English had created", that the French had never had a chance to present their case, and that it was strange indeed that the simple right of a hearing, granted to the legates of Portugal and Poland and everyone else, "as often as they chose", was denied to the reasonable and conciliatory envoys of the great king of France. Sigismund, annoyed, demanded back the paper and left the house. In dread of his anger, the French proposed an amendment to the resolution that would make it more acceptable, but Sigismund rejected this and ordered the resolution in its original form to be submitted to the vote of the nations. The Germans, English, and Italians approved it. In the debate in the French nation the royal ambassadors were silent, but the nation as a whole called it tricky and refused to pass it. The Spaniards followed the French. In consequence the affair was once more at a standstill.[47]

At length, at the session of March 3, when the business scheduled for the day had been dispatched, the advocate of the French king arose and asked permission for one of the royal proctors to speak. Master Jean Campan thereupon started to read a paper setting forth the views of his party in full but had not got beyond the first eight or ten lines when a loud groan interrupted him and then such a clamor that he could not be heard. He shouted above the tumult his protest against the injustice and his demand that a record be made of it and of the paper he had tried to read. But when the noise had subsided, Sigismund expressed his own severe disapprobation of this infraction of the conciliar rule against bringing any matter before a session that had not previously been approved by the nations as well as of all propositions that tended to throw discredit on the council. He desired that nothing more of the kind be attempted as long as the council lasted.[48] At the session of March 31 Thomas Polton, an English protonotary, delivered to the notaries of the council for record an English answer in writing to the French argument.[49] With this unsatisfactory perform-

[47] Fillastre, "Gesta", Finke, II, 86-88.

[48] *Ibid.*, pp. 89-90; *Acta* for Session XXVIII, Hardt, IV, 1103-1109.

[49] *Acta* for Session XXXI, Hardt, IV, 1196.

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ance the ambassadors of Charles VI had perforce to let the matter rest.

Some inkling of the feeling produced in England by reports of the incident may be gathered from an unprinted letter, written on April 23 by Chicheley, archbishop of Canterbury, to Hallam at Constance, congratulating him and his colleagues on the favor shown them by the emperor and on their victorious defense of the rights and honor of the realm and clergy of England "against the malice of the French, who have always been our enemies" and urging an unremitting vigilance "lest by their wiles they regain the control over the church which they had in times past and cunningly rob others of their rights".[50]

In these French and English memorials, presented in the third year of the council and never publicly read, we find at last a realization of the need of putting an end, for the moment at least, to the vagueness and ambiguity inherent in the various uses of the word "natio" and of clarifying the issues at stake by definitions that fitted not merely the transient groups at Constance but also the far larger, permanent associations of people at home whom the nations at Constance were there to represent. The French begin by pointing out that four of the nations at the council represent "general", not "particular" nations, that is, great divisions of the Roman obedience, that the Italian, French, Spanish, and German groups include delegates from several "particular" nations, regions, or provinces, whereas the English includes men from but one "particular" nation, since neither Wales nor Scotland and only a small part of Ireland have sent delegates or count themselves subjects of the English king. The French hark back to the four ecclesiastical divisions of Benedict XII, in which England figured as part of the German section, and to his list of thirty-six provinces, in which England appeared as one and France as six. It is not just to the others, they contend, that England should keep a position so out of proportion to her size. There have been only twelve to twenty-four voting members in the whole English nation at Constance. If they are unwilling to become one of the particular nations included in the general German nation, then the other general nations should separate into their component parts, each part with a vote. France alone would furnish six provinces, each as large as England and with a longer history of undeviating devotion to the faith. Or else the council should revive the ancient practice of voting by individuals.[51]

The English in answer carry further the process of definition thus

[50] British Museum, King's MSS., 10. b. IX, f. 59, a-b. The letter bears no year date, but the contents show that it must have been written in 1417.

[51] "Gallicae nationis solemnis protestatio contra Anglos", Hardt, V, 56-75.

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begun by the French. They admit a distinction between general and particular nations but with no great difficulty dispose of the French argument for reorganizing the council after the pattern set by the scheme of Benedict XII. His four divisions were merely economic regions, in each of which the fee for episcopal procurations might be fixed at a uniform rate. He had no more thought of mapping out the nations of Europe in this plan than he had when he listed the ecclesiastical provinces where Benedictines might hold their synods. Rules should not be stretched to cover cases for which they have never been intended. In a soaring flight of imagination the English go on to assert that as a matter of fact they are a general nation, representing eight particular kingdoms, viz., "England, Scotland, and Wales—the three that together compose Great Britain—the kingdom of the Sea,[52] and, in Ireland, near to England, four large and notable kingdoms—Connaught, Galway, Munster, and Meath—as recorded together expressly and by seal in the catalogue of Christian kings in the registers of the Roman curia also the notable principality of John, prince of the Orkneys and other islands, about sixty in number, some as large as or larger than the realm of France".[53] They comprehend five languages, English, the tongue used by both England and Scotland, Welsh, Irish, Gascon, and Cornish. "By every law it can represent as many [particular] nations as it contains distinct languages."[54]

As for the characteristics required of an authentic nation, England possesses them all, "whether nation be understood as a people marked

[52] The name of this fourth kingdom might, I suggest, be read as "kingdom of Man", "regnum de Man", instead of, as in the text, "kingdom of the Sea" or "de Mari". Britannia did not so early claim to rule the waves. But in the thirteenth century the Isle of Man had been held as a "regnum" in fee from the pope. In 1406 Henry IV had granted it with regalities to Sir John Stanley and his heirs, subject only to a relief of two falcons to be paid to every future king of England at his coronation. A. W. Moore, *History of the Isle of Man* (2 vols., London, 1900), I, 196-97. William E. Lunt, *Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages* (2 vols., New York, 1934), no. 226.

[53] "Anglicae nationis . . . vindicatio sui juris quoad propriam nationem in concilio", Hardt, V, 86. There were in fact at this time a Patrick, bishop of Cork, a Lewis, bishop of Bangor, and several Welsh doctors and clerics in the English nation at Constance but no representatives from the Scottish or other dioceses. James I of Scotland was a prisoner in England. In February, 1416, the council had sent envoys with a letter of convocation to the duke of Albany, acting regent for James, and to the clergy and nobility of Scotland and in January, 1417, had received the duke's promise to send a Scottish deputation to Constance as soon as he could. Fillastre, "Gesta", Finke, II, 57, 84-86. The English reply, "Anglicae nationis vindicatio", covers pages 76 to 101 in Hardt (Vol. V).

[54] "Anglicae nationis vindicatio", Hardt, V, 93.

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off from others by blood relationship and habit of unity or by peculiarities of language, the most sure and positive sign and essence of a nation in divine and human law . . . or whether nation be understood, as it should be, as a territory equal to that of the French nation".[55] The realm of England alone comprises, besides many duchies, baronies, and other domains, "thirty-two spacious counties, four or five of which are equal to the whole realm of France". The realm of France has only two archiepiscopal provinces, Reims and Sens, twenty dioceses, and six thousand parish churches, to which England can oppose the two huge provinces of Canterbury and York, twenty-five dioceses, and over fifty-two thousand parish churches, besides cathedrals, collegiate churches, monasteries, and hospitals. (One must find what excuse one can for these figures by recalling the mutilated state of France in 1417.) England has the more ancient faith, reaching back to Joseph of Arimathea, who lies buried at Glastonbury, whereas France had to wait for Christianity until the coming of St. Denis. England has its excellent royal house that produced St. Helen and her son, the Emperor Constantine, and has never departed from obedience to Rome.[56] It has its own wide land, eight hundred miles or forty days' journey from north to south, and its numerous and mighty people.

In spite of the dangerous sea and the long distance that separate England from Constance, it has sent to the council, first and last, twenty-two bishops, abbots, and other high ecclesiastics, twenty-seven masters of law or theology, twenty-five other university graduates, over sixty proctors of prelates and cathedral chapters, and more than a hundred lesser men of letters. Even if this representation has been smaller than that of other nations, each nation should count as equal to every other, as faculties and gilds do in university and city governments. For one peer has no rights over another peer nor one superior over another. "Nations in a general council should be considered equals and each should have the same rights." God, who is the author of change, has permitted nations to come into being and the ancient method of governing councils to be superseded by one more appropriate and rational in these days when men and customs vary widely

[55] The Latin of this noteworthy passage runs: "sive sumatur natio ut gens secundum cognationem et collectionem ab alia distincta, sive secundum diversitatem linguarum, quae maximam et verissimam probant nationem et ipsius essentiam, jure divino pariter et humano, ut infra dicetur; sive etiam sumatur natio pro provincia aequali etiam nationi Gallicanae, sicut sumi deberet." *Ibid.*, p. 92.

[56] A contrast is doubtless implied here with the French kings, who for over twenty years during the schism had supported the Avignon pope against Rome.

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from land to land, and each land should have a voice in framing the laws to be imposed upon it.

The rest of the English argument, the proposal to disregard nations and divide Europe thenceforth for purposes of conciliar representation simply into four geographical blocks, as suggested by Albertus Magnus, a western block consisting of France and Spain, a northern block of England, Scotland, Ireland, Norway, Denmark, and Sweden, an eastern block of Germany, Poland, and Hungary, and a southern block of Italy and the other Mediterranean lands, is of little interest now. At the time, moreover, hardly anyone could have expected that it would be taken seriously. It was merely a counterblast to the bulls of Benedict XII, with the special merit of reducing the two votes of France and Spain to one.

What is of interest in all this is the English summary of the elements essential in a nation that would rank as such in an international council—a sense of race and "habit of unity, setting it off from others", a peculiar language, and an extended territory. Race, a common unity of some sort, language, territory—each of these elements in turn had been the basis of one or another of the many medieval kinds of nation. The nations that are called such at Constance must have them all. Behind the English boasts of king and church there is evident a consciousness of solidarity and character as a people. There may well have been some thought, too, of recent prowess in France, although no one in the sacred assembly alluded openly to the war. A nation, while admittedly a growth of the newer times, is already something substantial, with an existence quite apart from the royal dominion. It is not the same as a kingdom. "Everyone knows that it matters not whether a nation obeys one prince only or several. Are there not many kingdoms in the Spanish nation that pay no obedience to the king of Castile, the chief ruler in Spain? But it does not follow that they are not parts of the Spanish nation. Are not Provence, Dauphiny, Savoy, Burgundy, Lorraine, and many other regions that have nothing to do with our adversary of France included nevertheless in the French or Gallican nation? And the like is true in other nations."[57] In the previous October the Portuguese embassy had objected to the inclusion of prelates from Sicily and Corsica with the Aragonese in the Spanish nation on the ground that, although subjects of the king of Aragon, they spoke another language and were "truly of a different nation".[58]

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 87.

[58] "Protestatio Portugallensium", Hardt, IV, 918.

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Every nation at Constance displayed on occasion the peculiar species of touchy conceit and bombast and the unscrupulous assertiveness that were to be symptoms of the new nationalism. The English, being the least numerous, posed as champions of the right of each nation to be counted as the equal of every other. Yet they joined with the larger nations in ignoring the rights of Hungarians, Czechs, and Poles to separate identity and a separate vote. With nearly five centuries and a quarter of nationalist history since Constance behind us, we read with a stirring of something not unlike sympathy the following remedy for international contentiousness prescribed by an anonymous observer of events at the council, though we ourselves may see no reason for limiting the ingredients to churchmen:[59] "Recipe for the stomach of St. Peter and total healing of the same, issued at the council of Constance. Take twenty-four cardinals, one hundred archbishops and prelates, the same number from each nation, and as many curials as you can get. Immerse in Rhine water[60] and keep submerged there for three days. It will be good for St. Peter's stomach and for the cure of all his diseases."[61]

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[59] *Ibid.*, I, 499.

[60] The Rhine, it will be remembered, flowed by one wall of the city of Constance.

[61] As I was finishing this paper, my attention was called by Professor Gray C. Boyce to an admirable article by Finke, covering some of the same material, "Die Nation in den spätmittelalterlichen allgemeinen Konzilien", *Hist. Jahrbuch*, LVII (1937), 323-38.

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SERMONS BEFORE THE COMMONS, 1640-42

ROYALISTS looking back upon the causes of the Great Rebellion became particularly bitter when they wrote of the preachers. Clarendon, Hacket, and others agreed that the Puritan clergy, through their sermons, had much to do with fanning the flames of discontent into the great fire of civil war.[1] It is to be expected, of course, that in that golden age of preaching, sermons should have played a large part in building public opinion. Both Arminian and Calvinist teaching glorified the clergy, endowing their utterances with significance and power. The lay preacher, with his attacks upon holy orders and learning and his praise of simple piety, had not yet become prevalent enough to make preaching appear every man's gift. The Puritan clergymen, therefore, were sure of appreciative and attentive audiences.

Aside from their own intrinsic worth, the sermons of the seventeenth century have the stamp of authority. Particularly is this true of those preached before the house of commons in the critical years 1640-42. The climate in which Episcopacy languished and in which Presbyterianism, Independency, and a sturdy undergrowth of sects began to flourish, is preserved to us in these sermons. Furthermore the circumstances under which they were preached, as well as the character of the preachers, make them examples par excellence of propagandist literature. They were not counsels of perfection or dogmatic expositions. They were definitely intended to influence their hearers—to arouse hatred of the Laudian regime and zeal for reform of the church along Puritan lines.

When the Long Parliament met in November, 1640, the Puritan divines flocked around it, seeing in it their agency for breaking Laud's power and for puritanizing the church. For years—indeed since the Elizabethan Settlement—they had hoped to rebuild the church along Puritan lines, and although the failure of the Hampton Court Conference (1604) to do more than meet the most moderate of their demands had shown that they could expect nothing from the house of

[1] Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion* (Oxford, 1725), I^2, 302, II^1, 22-23; John Hacket, *Scrinia Reserata* (London, 1693), II, 131, 139, 143, 149, 190; Clement Walker, *Mystery of the Two Juntos* (London, 1648), pp. 1, 10, 81, 82; John Gauden, *Ecclesiae Anglicanae Suspiria* (London, 1659), n.p.; Peter Heylyn, *Aerius Redivivus* (London, 1670), pp. 446-47.

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Stuart, their hopes had not died. The so-called Bishops' War in Scotland appeared to offer them an opportunity. John Gauden, writing in 1659, forgetting that he himself had voiced violent anti-Arminian sentiments before the house of commons, blamed the Puritan preachers for the violent spirit aroused in the two houses against Episcopacy. The Puritan divines, he claimed, used their "Heads, Hands, Tongues, and Pens" against the established church. John Hacket, in his *Scrinia Reserata,* some thirty years later agreed with Gauden. "No sooner had the Northern Carles begun their Hunts-up", he declared, "but the Presbyterians flocked to London from all quarters, and were like Hounds ready to be entered. . . . In the North the Scots, in the South the Presbyterians, battered at the fortress of Monarchy and Church." [2]

Prejudiced as Gauden and Hacket were, their picture of the Puritans flocking to influence the house of commons was not a false one. Some divines, like Thomas Wilson of Kent, came because they had been in difficulties with Laud and must either submit to rebuke or, preferably, win parliament's support. Henry Burton came because he had been freed by parliament from prison and now hoped to avenge past wrongs. Others, like Stephen Marshall, came because they were intimately associated with parliamentary leaders.

For whatever purpose they came, however, these divines found the house of commons ready to hear them. It graciously listened to their petitions; it called them before committees to testify about the iniquities of Laud and Wren and other bishops; it even permitted Stephen Marshall to act as party whip.[3] Most important of all, the house of commons asked them to preach to its members in St. Margaret's Church on fast days and communion days and days of rejoicing. The sermons appeared under parliament's imprimatur. Distributed by hucksters and spread upon the book stalls, they were available to Mr. George Thomason and other zealous readers. In the troubled times, filled with vague fears and rumors, their authoritative pronouncements sounded a comforting, positive note.

The tone of authority which the Puritan divines used seems the more impressive because of their relative obscurity. Nearly all of them were from country parishes. Joseph Caryl, preacher of Lincoln's Inn,

[2] Gauden, n. p.; Hacket, II, 143.

[3] Robert Baillie, *Letters and Journals* (Edinburgh, 1775), I, 244-45, 250; *Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes,* ed. by Wallace Notestein (New Haven, 1923), pp. 83, 531, *et passim;* Sir Ralph Verney, *Verney Papers* (Camden Society, 1845), pp. 4-11; William Arthur Shaw, *History of the English Church, 1640-1660* (London, 1900), Vol. I, ch. 1, especially pp. 81-82 for Marshall's activity.

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and Edmund Calamy and Cornelius Burgess, rectors of St. Mary's Aldermanbury and St. Magnus, respectively, were Londoners, to be sure, but they did not hold important benefices. There were no bishops, there were not even canons or prebendaries among their number. Their obscurity may of course be explained by the fact that they were Puritans. For the epigram of George Morley, who, when asked what the Arminians held, replied, "The best bishoprics and deaneries in England", had in it as much truth as brilliance. Undoubtedly their Puritanism had stood in the way of their promotion. The disfavor of archbishop and bishop had doomed many, confident of their power and ambitious for influence, to lower places in the church. The Puritan nobleman could provide for divines of his persuasion only the bread-and-butter of a chaplaincy or living.

So it came about that Stephen Marshall, whom Clarendon and Anthony à Wood rated as equal in influence at this time to Laud in the 1630's, held the living of Finchingfield in Essex, the gift of the Rich family.[4] The two Sedgwicks, Obadiah and William, also came from Essex villages. Edward Reynolds and Thomas Hill were, respectively, from Bramston and Tychmersh in Northamptonshire. Three of the men who preached before the Long Parliament had just returned from exile: William Bridge, a modest pluralist who had deserted two livings and a lectureship rather than conform, and Joseph Symonds had made their way back from Rotterdam, and Thomas Goodwin from Arnheim, to help in rebuilding Jerusalem.

The obscurity of these clergymen, however, was more than compensated for by their sufferings. Their careers had been plentifully sprinkled with citations to appear before the high commission. Simeon Ashe, for instance, had lost his living in Staffordshire for refusing to read the Book of Sports to his congregation; under the protection of Sir John Burgoyne and Lord Brook he had since been preaching in London. Burgess, after beginning his career auspiciously enough as chaplain to Charles I, had been so outspoken in his attacks upon Episcopacy that he had been cited before the high commission in 1636. Edmund Calamy had been driven from the diocese of Norwich for refusing, like Ashe, to read the Book of Sports, had received the living of Rochford in Essex from the Earl of Warwick, and had then migrated to London. Samuel Fairclough's unwillingness to use the sign of the cross had led to his appearance before the chan-

[4] Clarendon, I[2], 302; Anthony à Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses* (London, 1813-20), III, 682.

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celor, while his refusal to read the Book of Sports had brought him before the high commission. Three other divines, as has been said, had sought exile rather than submit to their superiors. The most notable martyr of all was Henry Burton, whose experiences in the pillory and in prison were now being given publicity by his friend William Prynne.[5]

Having suffered, these men were by no means prepared to turn the other cheek. Their Christianity was the Christianity not of the Beatitudes but of the Psalter. Their God had the qualities of the Old Testament Jehovah, quick to destroy and punish, and their enemies must meet the fate of those who had harried the Lord's anointed in Palestine. The secret of the power exercised by Marshall and his fellow divines lay in their conviction that they, and certain godly laymen, were the Lord's anointed. And with that mixture of humility and spiritual arrogance which characterized the Calvinist they were now prepared to go before the house of commons and at once petition for and demand a speedy reformation of the church.

The house of commons gave the Puritans the monopoly of the pulpit of St. Margaret's Church, for early in the session it decided that no convocation man should preach before it. Thus the high church party was unable to plead its case, while the Puritans were assured of a hearing.[6] At the same time the house appointed a fast day with Stephen Marshall and Cornelius Burgess as preachers. The choice of these two men was significant. Burgess had already gone to the north in September to present a Puritan petition to Charles I. The summary dismissal which he and his petition received may help to explain his reforming zeal, for, as that eminent Scot, Robert Baillie, pointed out, Burgess was at heart a moderate—so much so that the Scots who came south with their commissioners viewed him with mistrust.[7] During the early months of the Long Parliament, however, he was vigorously anti-Laudian.

Stephen Marshall had already distinguished himself by his electioneering activities early in the spring. Then, we are informed, he had gone outside his own parish to advocate the election of Puritan

[5] Edmund Calamy's *Account* . . . (2 vols., London, 1713) and *Continuation of the Account* . . . (2 vols., London, 1727) and A. G. Matthew's *Calamy Revised* (London, 1934) give the most complete account of the tempestuous careers of these divines. The *Dictionary of National Biography*, especially for Burgess and Marshall, and Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses* were also consulted, as was Benjamin Brooks, *Lives of the Puritans* (3 vols., London, 1813).

[6] D'Ewes, p. 18. [7] Baillie, I, 245.

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burgesses and knights.[8] His remarkable influence upon the commons led Thomas Fuller to describe him as the "Trumpet" of the house,[9] a description which would have been regarded as an understatement by another of his contemporaries. Cleveland's couplet,

> Or roar like Marshall, that Geneva bull,
> Hell and damnation a pulpit full,[10]

helps to explain his popularity with the Puritan members.

Burgess, who preached in the morning of the fast day, chose his text from the Old Testament. He then proceeded to embroider it, so that Jeremiah's prophecy that the godly would make a covenant with God became by implication a demand that parliament do likewise. Jeremiah, he pointed out, had foretold the deliverance of Israel by an army from the north: "The Northern Army should be the confusion of Babylon, the confusion of Babylon should prove the restoring of the Church . . . and the restoring of the Church should produce a Covenant with God." It did not take unusual perspicacity on the part of his hearers to substitute the Scottish army for that of the north, the Laudian party and the papists (who were always thrown in for good measure) for Babylon, and Puritanism for the church. Although parliament had been sitting only a few days, he severely chided it for its delay in bringing about this reformation. After referring to the actions of convocation as "little lesse than a Combination and Conspiracy against both King and State", he proceeded roundly to score popery and Arminianism.[11]

Marshall, when he preached in the afternoon, echoed Burgess's demand for a covenant, but he called upon Ezra, instead of Jeremiah, for support. Whether this emphasis upon a covenant indicates pressure for a covenant with the Scots is problematical; when, however, the *rapprochement* between such Scots as Baillie and Samuel Rutherford and the London Puritans is remembered, it is possible to see in this demand for a covenant a prophecy of the Solemn League and

[8] State Papers, Domestic, Car. I, Vol. 449, f. 93b.

[9] Thomas Fuller, *England's Worthies in Church and State* (London, 1684), p. 391. Fuller's description of Marshall is classical: "He was of so supple a Soul, that he brake not a Joynt, yea sprained not a Sinew, in all the Alteration of Times: and his Friends put all on the account, not of his inconstancy, but Prudence".

[10] Quoted in Caroline Francis Richardson's *English Preachers and Preaching* (New York, 1928), p. 60.

[11] Cornelius Burgess, *The First Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons* (London, 1641).

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Covenant. At any rate it put squarely before parliament its duty to place religious reform before political.

The demand for a thorough reformation of the church and the driving out of idolatry and superstition, which Burgess had stressed in the morning, appeared again in Marshall's sermon. In mentioning the enemies of the church Marshall declared that there was one Jonas, that is Jonah, who, until he was cast out, endangered the safety of the godly; his hearers, according to their temper, undoubtedly selected Strafford or Laud for the role of Jonah. Although the two sermons closely resemble each other in choice and treatment of subject, they do not seem monotonous. Each preacher has a definite style, so that while the phraseology of the Old Testament dominates each, it is transformed. Marshall's repetition of Burgess's theme, indeed, emphasizes the effect. Marshall is the more persuasive. His words, for instance, "in your great Counsell, bee yee purgers and preservers of our Religion. Look thoroughly what is amisse, and pluck up every plant that God hath not planted", have a suavity lacking in Burgess's more forthright sermon.[12] The reader will agree with the member of the house of commons who declared that Marshall "gave the better Sermon".[13]

The preachers chosen for the communion sermons on November 29, George Morley and John Gauden, represented the moderate party in the church. Morley of course was chosen because of his friendship with the Great Tew circle—Falkland and Hyde—and with Hampden. Because both later joined the king's party their sermons have a special significance. Morley's unfortunately was not printed. The story that it displeased the house of commons[14] is probably based on rumor, for the house definitely asked Gauden and Morley, as well as the two fast-day preachers, to print their sermons.[15] Quite possibly Morley was already turning away from the parliamentary side and did not wish to be associated with the anti-episcopal sentiments already loudly voiced in the house of commons.

Gauden's sermon, which was published, shows the position of an anti-Arminian who wished to see truth and peace rule and to see the church rid of "Atheism, superstition, formality". "The winter[']s distemper is such", he lamented, that "the Love of many (if not most) is

[12] Stephen Marshall, *A Sermon Preached before the House of Commons . . . at their Publick Fast* (London, 1641).

[13] Peyton MS., quoted in D'Ewes, p. 39 n.

[14] Anthony à Wood's story is repeated in the *D.N.B.* account of Morley.

[15] *Commons Journal*, II, 40.

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grown cold to both [truth and peace]: Truth much obscured, blemished, prejudiced, undermined, discountenanced, oppressed; Peace very crazy and shaken: rumors of wars, preparations for wars, study of sides and parts, great divisions of thoughts, pertinacy in opinions, bleeding disaffection; and disaffections flaming to open contention and hostility; so far, as from the strife of pens and tongues, we are come to the terror of war." But God, he rejoiced, had "inclined the heart of our King to Counsells of Peace". He urged that in considering reformation the house of commons call upon Comenius and "Duraeus" (John Durie), both of whom had striven to bring the reformed churches on the Continent and the English church into unity. While his sermon stressed a desire for unity, nevertheless in its harsh condemnation of the Arminian party it was not calculated to soften the hearts of the Puritans in the house of commons.[16]

The four sermons evidently delighted their hearers. The thanks of the house, it was ordered on December 1, should be given to Morley and Gauden, and three weeks later, when the committee in charge of the money received at the communion service announced the offering, tangible evidence of approval was given. Plate to the value of £26 13*s.* 4*d.*, the house voted, should be purchased for the four preachers.[17]

Through the winter months no sermons were preached before the house. Business, such as the matter of Strafford's fate, evidently thrust aside this phase of their lives, though undoubtedly the members heard plenty of sermons, with the Puritan divines, now that Laud was silenced, indulging in their propensity for lectures, and with the Scots preaching at St. Antholin's or in the Scottish commissioners' houses.[18]

On April 4 the winter's silence was ended, with Thomas Wilson and Samuel Fairclough preaching on the fast day. The text of Wilson's sermon was from Psalms, 69:9, "The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up." The verse referred, Wilson explained, to David's anger against "superstition, error, and corruption". The house of commons was urged to follow David's example and to purify at once the corrupt Church of England.[19]

While Wilson's sermon consisted of scriptural quotations, inter-

[16] John Gauden, *The Love of Truth and Peace* . . . (London, 1641).

[17] *Com. Jour.*, II, 57. According to the *D.N.B.*, Gauden's was a suitably inscribed tankard.

[18] Clarendon, I[1], 189-90; Baillie, I, 215, 235.

[19] Thomas Wilson, *David's Zeal for Sion* . . . (London, 1641).

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spersed with fervent appeals to purify the church, Fairclough found the occasion an opportunity to indulge in rhetoric. In his published dedication he expressed astonishment that his sermon had found its way into print; unknown to him it had gone so far through the press that when he himself was informed of it by a friend's letter it had gone too far to be "reversed". His sermon concerned the story of Joshua and Achan, "the troubler of Israel". The situation in Israel in Joshua's time showed a strange analogy to that in England in 1641. The sins of more than one Achan harassed the godly; the house of commons must show Joshua's zeal in dealing with them, and "Wee even all the godly Ministers of the Country as Aaron and Hur with Moses and Joshua will be with you, stand fast, and pray to strengthen your hands steady to the worke: all the loyall and godly Common people in the country at your lawfull Commands, be ready to joyne with you in casting stones against these Achans". In detail he told the story of Achitophel and David, of Achitophel's treason with Absolom under "pretence of piety and devotion". With sinister implications he showed how Achitophel had alienated David's subjects from him. All Achitophels, all Achans in England must be killed forthwith.[20]

A little more than three weeks later the house of commons, sadly aware that it had made "Small Progress in affairs of Church and Commonwealth", decreed a solemn fast.[21] Henceforth nearly every month the members listened to two sermons. Their tardiness in dealing with the ecclesiastical problem was to be the burden of the discourses.

The Sion motif, a favorite with seventeenth century divines, was stressed when the commons met on May 5 to hear William Bridge. "The sword is now drawing", this militant clergyman declared in the preface to the sermon, "whose anger shall not be pacified till Babylon be downe and Sion rais'd". This sanguinary note was sounded throughout the sermon. Careful attendance upon the committee on religion had convinced him of the perilous state of the church. Parliament, he urged, must seek out the persons who had made a Babylon out of England's Sion and "punish them according to their deservings". In the reformation which must follow, nothing, he declared, should "be obtruded upon the Churches of Christ, but what may clearely and plainely have *Jus Divinum* written and engraven upon it". This was

[20] Samuel Fairclough, *The Troublers Troubled, or Achan Condemned and Executed* (London, 1641).

[21] *Com. Jour.*, II, 129.

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a step beyond those reforms urged by previous preachers. His firm conviction that parliament agreed with him in this policy led him to view that body with approval as "a quiver so full of chosen and polished shafts for the Lord's work". "Never did England see a Parliament more fitted for the service and work of God, then this now is", he remarked complacently, not foreseeing the dreary months which were to elapse before his reformation would take place.[22]

On the June fast day Henry Burton echoed Bridge's demands for a thorough reformation of the church. Burton, it will be remembered, while rector of St. Matthew's, Friday Street, had been pilloried and imprisoned for seditious libel. Now, four years later, he gloried in his task and in the memory of his severe punishment. The confusion of his enemies and the triumph of his principles seemed assured: "O how my Soule is ravished, as not to begin the opening of my Mouth without blessing of God, who hath not onely binn pleased as this very Moneth 4 years agoe, to cal me to preach in another kind of pulpit, not far from this place; but hath also cald me now to speake unto you at this time, in this place." After approving the action of parliament against "the chiefest of the incendiaries"—the execution of Strafford had taken place only a few weeks before—he pointed out that other enemies must be punished. With a vengefulness explained and heightened by his cropped ears, he declared: "The children of God have not yet deliverance, but they shall have it. I will not pursue these men [Laud and his fellow bishops] to the Red Sea, but surely if they do not repent, God hath a Sea, a Sea of destruction to swallow them up." England had indeed traveled far from the reign of Thorough when an obscure clergyman could so publicly demand an archbishop's repentance.

Burton made the first definite plea voiced before parliament for the establishment of the congregational form of church government. Episcopacy, he declared, "cannot be better parallel'd then to the Hierarchy of Antichrist". There could be no doubt as to the need for a prompt reformation, but until that happy state was reached he begged that no clergyman be forced to use the Book of Common Prayer. The indecision of many clergy at this time, when the liturgy of the church was under fire and when malcontents, both lay and clerical, were giving verbal and physical evidence of their disapproval of it, is revealed. Many ministers, Burton pointed out, "are not resolved what to do, they would keep their Ceremonies still, and they will wait for what the Parliament will doe". "You may set up what Religion you

22 William Bridge, *Babylons Downfall* . . . (London, 1641).

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please", he assured his hearers, "they will be of your religion still. There are many Ministers that are of this mind." Meanwhile, he urged, laws should be passed to punish all abuses.[23]

The fact that Thomas Fuller, who had been a member of convocation, preached on the same day as Burton must be explained by his connections with the stanch Puritan bishops, Robert Tonson and John Davenant. Fuller extolled the work of Joshua, ever a favorite with the Puritans. The reformation of the church, the sermon declared, must be twofold: an outer cleansing by the power of the sword and an inner cleansing of people's hearts by the power of the word. While he warned against too hasty a reformation, Fuller declared that it would be an error "not to take away all corruptions".[24]

Had parliament proceeded to follow the advice so far given, a reformation of much greater scope than many desired would have resulted. But just as the temper of parliament was anti-Laudian rather than pro-Presbyterian, so with a few exceptions the sermons preached tended rather to inflame public opinion against the past rulers of the church than definitely to formulate a polity for the future. When Joseph Symonds preached on July 20 from the text, "Take heed, now, for the Lord hath chosen thee to build an house for the Sanctuarie", the members may well have hoped for definite guidance. Instead, they heard a rehearsing of the sins of the bishops: "What darknesse, what pollution, what tyranny dwells here." A thorough cleansing of the church must take place, Symonds urged his hearers. "Other causes may, and must wayt", he declared, "Delayes are dangerous. For, affections may cool . . . Rubs rise by delayes." Parliament as "the fountaine of law" under God's direction must bring about a reformation.[25]

Thomas Case echoed Symonds's harsh condemnation of the bishops. Had it not been for parliament, he maintained, "We and our children might have sinned by Statute, and gone to Masse by law." He besought the house of commons not only to enact good laws but to see that there remained on the statute books "no evill Statutes, no killing Judgment (soul killing Judgment) that doth yet lye dormant, which

[23] Henry Burton, *England's Bondage and Hope of Deliverance* (London, 1641).

[24] Thomas Fuller, *Reformation Sure and Stedfast: Or, A Seasonable Sermon for the Present Times* (London, 1641). Fuller's Puritanism, which was to be so evident in his *Church-History of Britain* (London, 1665), was, like that of Gauden and Morley, not strong enough to keep him on the side of parliament against the king, but unlike them he retained his low church tendencies. His career illustrates the difficulty of generalizing about Puritanism.

[25] Joseph Symonds, *A Sermon Preached before the . . . House of Commons . . .* (London, 1641).

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may be awakened hereafter when occasion doth serve, to slay us and our children." England, Case regretfully noted, was the most sinful of all nations. Both doctrine and discipline must be reformed along the lines of the reformed churches of the Continent. "Since we doe happily professe a unitie in faith" with them, he urged, "how much it will conduce to beautie, peace, and welfare, to enjoy also a uniformity in discipline."

Case's interpretation of church polity in the terms of discipline rather than of government indicates the strongly Calvinistic trend of these preachers.[26] They saw the church not as a broadly national institution, administered like the secular state by a hierarchy of officials, but as a meeting place of the godly. There was something paradoxical in their interpretation. While they wished the church of their desires to be the established, national church, at the same time they were in a sense essentially separatist in their point of view. Their concept was that of a church composed of the elect, predestined to the enjoyment of the comforts of the church on earth and in the world beyond. Outside wandered the reprobates, bereft of the spiritual strength offered by the sacraments of the church. The Elizabethan ideal of the church as the *via media* and the Laudian concept of a catholic church were discarded for the Calvinistic idea of a church which offered salvation not to all, but only to those already predestined to be saved. Case was the first of these preachers to emphasize this Calvinistic tendency toward separatism, but others after him were to echo him.

Still parliament failed to bring about the reformation. The treaty of peace with the Scots which it negotiated was a good sign, even though this failed to provide for the establishment of the Presbyterian polity in England. Stephen Marshall, when he preached at parliament's day of rejoicing for the treaty, did not fail to mark this oversight. Taking as his text the words of the psalmist, "Blessed be the Lord, who hath not given us as a prey to their teeth", he delivered a powerful sermon.

The fact that one danger had been escaped, Marshall warned his hearers, must not make them unaware that another, "our adversary the devill", still remained. "Men are everywhere inquiring in discontent", he lamented, "what is done all this yeer, the Parliament hath sate long, abundance of money given but what have they done for us?" Less

[26] Thomas Case, *Two Sermons Preached before the House of Commons* (London, 1642).

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had been done than might have been done, he declared, and he urged his hearers to push on with church reform. "Now you have built your own house, and procured civill Liberties, should you let God[']s house lie waste, and should you be (as many fear you are) lesse zealous in God[']s then in your own I solemnly profes unto you, the God of heaven will require it at your hands." [27]

Guy Fawkes Day was of particular significance in this year of grace 1641, for on November 1 had come news of the Irish rebellion. Cornelius Burgess was chosen to preach, but he found it impossible fully to use his opportunity to smite the Roman Catholics hip and thigh because the pressure of business in the house made it necessary for him to cut short his sermon. He published his whole sermon, however, thoughtfully indicating the parts omitted so that the reader might know exactly what message he had hoped to give and what he had actually given to the house of commons.

This sermon, as might be expected, was highly inflammatory. The papists, Burgess assured his hearers, had ever been treasonable, conspiring against the government, because "their very Religion itselfe" led them to traitorous practices. Burgess, when he declared that the priests "are bound to induce" treachery among their people and to promise great rewards for plots, was undoubtedly referring to Father Philips, who had been imprisoned in the Tower a few days before. To his hearers, fearful of what the Irish rebellion would bring forth, his sermon was an incentive to merciless treatment of Roman Catholics. He was equally concerned with the state of the church. He rebuked parliament for its delay in bringing about reformation. "At your first sitting downe", he reminded the house of commons, "you expressed many brave and noble resolutions of giving God's businesse the precedency of other your affaires: and your beginnings promised much." Now, however, "God's Work lies yet undone". He painted a tragic picture:

> Matters of Religion lie a bleeding: all Government and Discipline of the Church is laid in her Grave, and all putredinous vermine of bold Schismaticks and frantick Sectaries glory in her ashes, making her fall their own Rising to mount our Pulpits, to offer strange fire, to expell the gravest, ablest, and most eminent Ministers in the Kingdom, (if not out of their Pulpits, yea), out of the Hearts of their people as a Company of weak men, formalists, time-servers, no Ministers of Christ, but Limbs of Antichrist . . . and to forsake our Assemblies as Babylonish, Antichristian, so as in short time they will not leave us the face of a Church.

[27] Marshall, *Peace Offering to God* . . . (London, 1641).

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Yet, he rebuked his hearers, "no course is taken to suppresse their fury, and to reduce them to order, which . . . will never be, till you put your hands to the Cure". Parliament, he admitted, had been burdened with tremendous responsibilities, but "in the midst of them all" it had found opportunities to vindicate its own "Rights and Liberties". To aid parliament in its task of reformation he requested that "a free Synode of grave Ministers" be called. This is the first such request to be voiced in the pulpit of St. Margaret's.[28]

The sad divisions of the nation, which had aroused Burgess's wrath before, were again dealt with in December by Edmund Calamy and Burgess. Calamy called for "seven Buckets to draw out the water of tears" which must be shed for England's woeful state. "The House of the Lord lieth waste", he bewailed, "The Garden of the Nation is overgrown with weeds, and there are not onely unprofitable but hurtfull trees planted in this Garden." Reformation, he warned his hearers, must be carried further even than it had been in the days of Edward VI. He echoed Burgess's demand for a synod carefully chosen by parliament to settle religious affairs.[29]

This request for a synod was also voiced by Marshall. Choosing as his text II Kings, 23:6, the story of Josiah, he compared the state of England to that of Israel in those dark days. Just as Josiah had appeared in the "darkest midnight of apostacy", so had parliament been raised up by God "to attempt glorious things for his name, for the purging of his house, and the establishing of this great people in the peace of the Gospel". As the Hebrews had been unworthy, he declared, so now were the people of England. The comparison of Charles I with Manasseh, which would have followed logically, was not made definitely, yet it was implied. Like Burgess he protested against the chaotic state of the church. "The body of the Nation makes little other use of all the mercies of this last yeare", he lamented, "but to abuse all the liberties procured both for Church and Commonwealth, to greater and bolder sinning against God."[30]

The sermons preached during the critical months of 1642, to the time when Charles I raised his standard at Nottingham and thus definitely ended the possibility of compromise, echo the demands for a synod. With the exception of the sermon preached by Edward

[28] Burgess, *Another Sermon Preached to the Honourable House of Commons Novemher the 5th 1641* (London, 1641).

[29] Calamy, *Englands Looking-Glasse* . . . (London, 1642).

[30] Marshall, *Reformation and Desolation* . . . (London, 1642).

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Reynolds, late in July, the pronouncements before the house of commons on its fast days showed an astonishing failure to recognize how near England was to civil war. Instead of urging conciliation, they repeat the old shibboleths—the temple must be built, idolatry must be driven out.

Ignoring the perils, Calamy, preaching on the February fast day, saw much to rejoice over: "God hath freed us from Civil Warres", he declared, by making peace between England and Scotland. The nation had been freed from the danger of popery. "The enemies", he exclaimed exultantly, "are thrown into the dens and dungeons they prepared for the godly." Legally and peacefully parliament by God's help had rid the kingdom of "many grievous Yokes". Let it now, Calamy urged, "rout out Arminianisme, sett up our doctrine (not only our discipline)".[31]

On this same day Marshall preached a sermon which Clarendon regarded as the most seditious sermon preached during the Great Rebellion.[32] His text, "Curse ye Meroz", was taken from the Song of Deborah, as she rejoiced over the murder of Sisera by Jael, and it implied that all who refused to come to the aid of the Lord (that is, of parliament) should be bitterly cursed. The sermon, however, despite its bloodthirsty implications, proceeded along rather pedestrian lines. Let parliament, Marshall urged, proceed forthwith to the establishment of the church upon secure foundations. Using one of the practical figures of speech in which he delighted, he compared the church to a joint-stock company, in which "every penny gained or lost is gaine or loss" to all the merchants. The two tasks before parliament, he declared, were the relief of Ireland and the establishment of true religion.[33]

By March it became clear that at least one of Marshall's objectives would be reached. Even though the formal declaration that parliament proposed to call an assembly of divines (the Westminster Assembly) did not appear until April 8, Simeon Ashe, when he preached on March 30, commended parliament for its action. Expressing satisfaction at its plan, he urged that the members be carefully chosen, "Men of approved piety", "Scripture Men", "Men not biassed with selfish partiality". Those who wished reformation, he recognized, were "very few in comparison of the Malignant Party", but he urged his hearers to have courage. "When we speake of Armies on land and strength on the

[31] Calamy, *God's Free Mercy to England* . . . (London, 1642).

[32] Clarendon, II[1], 22-23.

[33] Marshall, *Meroz Cursed* . . . (London, 1642).

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Seas preparing against us; what though Papists, Atheists, and Divels were in combination to destroy us, yet the Generalissimo who manageth all forces and maketh all motions [for parliament] is the Lord of Hosts".[34]

The uncertainty of public opinion was again stressed by Thomas Goodwin when he preached at the April fast day. Parliament had already shown itself zealous for God's service by taking steps to establish a "learned and preaching" ministry throughout England and to rid the church of "divers Innovations" and superstitions.[35]

Joseph Caryl, who preached on the same day, unfortunately expanded his sermon before he sent it to the printer's, so that it is impossible to know exactly what he told his hearers in St. Margaret's. It is unlikely, however, that he made much change in its tone. Harshly condemning the Laudian party, this future leader of the Independents compared the church, which now "lyes a bleeding", to Israel at the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. Like Isaachar, "crouched between two burdens", those in authority had striven for reunion with Rome. But the house of commons, he rejoiced, were "the called by God and the king, and the chosen of this whole Nation . . . to finde out and take away both things and persons which are evill". In language calculated to end any possibility of compromise in ecclesiastical matters he cried aloud for revenge as well as for the complete reformation of church discipline.[36]

This same note of revenge was sounded on the May fast day when Robert Harris of Hanwill preached. His sermon, printed many years later from "broken notes", was calculated to stir the house of commons into definite action against the enemies of Puritanism. "The Lord hath taken you into Communion with himselfe", he told his hearers, "and put his Name of his Power upon you." Resembling the Muggletonians and other fanatics rather than the more staid Presbyterians and Independents, he burst forth into rhapsodic vein: "Yee, or Noble and much Honoured Gentlemen, doe you set your hands to this Carthage . . . and this Bloody Beast, which bites worst in her last conflict."[37]

While Harris's sermon, except for a mention of "dying Ireland",

[34] Simeon Ashe, *The Best Refuge for the Oppressed* (London, 1642).

[35] Thomas Goodwin, *Zerubabbel's Encouragement to finish the Temple* (London, 1642).

[36] Joseph Caryl, *The Workes of Ephesus Explained* (London, 1642).

[37] Robert Harris, "A Sermon Preached to the House of Commons" in *Works* (London, 1683), II, 133 ff.

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might have been preached in 1640, the afternoon preacher, Obadiah Sedgwick, was much more aware of what was happening. He lamented the sad state of England, on the verge of civil war, but he expressed much more concern for the state of the church. His request that "an answerable magistracie" be set up when the church was reformed foreshadows the struggle in the Westminster Assembly upon the subject of church discipline. "Take up your first thoughts", he urged, "and engage your hearts and resolutions . . . to carry on (at least) this one work of all works, a solid Reformation".[38]

To William Gouge, preacher on the June fast day, the times were "in many things not much unlike to the time wherein Nehemiah came to Jerusalem", with "grievances in the State" and "Corruptions in the Church". Parliament, moreover, he pointed out, had conducted itself much like that doughty Old Testament hero. In his zeal, however, he devoted so much time to this comparison that when he came to his second point, "The Lord is a peculiar God to a beleever", which was probably intended as a message of hope to the harassed parliament, he was forced to stop short.[39]

The gloomy state of affairs seemed to William Sedgwick, when he followed Gouge that afternoon, especially sent by God to test the faithful. He pointed out that afflictions were needed "to prepare us for mercies". Out of the darkness would come the light of reformation, for the church had never yet been seen in England but "in a meane and despicable way". Now, with prelacy "Pulled down in Scotland, darkened in England", parliament must proceed to establish "a holy ministry" and "a holy magistracy".[40]

Although by the end of July hopes for peace between royalists and parliamentarians had grown dim, the morning preacher concerned himself with the type of church to be established by the new assembly of divines and parliament. Thomas Hill, pastor of Tychmersh in Northamptonshire, had come to London to be a member of this assembly, and he was naturally interested in reformation. His mind, too, was obviously one which delighted in dogmatic rather than political affairs. While the Calvinism of the other sermons preached before the house of commons had been implied in criticisms of Arminianism, Hill made no secret of his stand. "An incorrupt Religion . . . not a

[38] Obadiah Sedgwick, *England's Preservation* . . . (London, 1642).
[39] William Gouge, *The Saints Support* . . . (London, 1642).
[40] William Sedgwick, *Zions Deliverance Her Friends Duty* . . . (London, 1642).

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Linsey-woolsey Religion", must be established. Popery and Arminianism, which "compound foreseene faith with the Soveraigntie of Gods will", must be rooted out. "The beautie and efficacie of Church Government and Discipline", he pointed out, "depend upon their Conformitie unto Divine Truth. It must regulate Church-Power and Discipline, Church Administration, else they will soon loose their Lustre, and Authoritie, degenerating either into emptie Formalitie, or into Church-Tyranny." He rejoiced that reformation had already been begun. "Malignant Persecutors" and "neutrall Politicians", he warned, would strive to block this reformation, but parliament must disregard them. While he commended Christian unity, he would not have the fundamentals sacrificed to it. "We must not be such reconcilers", he warned, "as to bring in a Samaritan Religion, an Interim." [41]

The afternoon preacher, Edward Reynolds, presented "an enjoinder to peace". Because of his career after the Restoration, when he accepted a bishopric and strove to bring the Puritan clergy back within the church, his sermon is of peculiar interest. We see what a clergyman with Calvinistic tendencies, but of broad vision, believed at this time. He was a polished preacher, fond of figures of speech. His version of "Sweet are the uses of adversity" betrays the Calvinist: "The hammer breakes metall; the fire melts it, and then, you may cast it into any shape. Judgments breake, mercies melt, and then, if ever, the soule is fit to be cast into God's mould." Speaking of God's anger at the sins of England, to which Reynolds ascribed her present woes, he used an interesting and striking figure of speech: "Sinne is that against which God's arrows are directed; and as the arrow sticks into the Butt into which the Marke is fastened, so the Judgments which are shot at Sin, must needs light upon us unto whom sinne cleaveth. The way then to divert sin is to remove the marke."

Yet Reynolds, though he was convinced that the danger of civil war was England's punishment for her sins, departed from dogmatism to more practical considerations. Parliament must continue its efforts to heal the divisions between king and country. His solution, though he faced the problem realistically, was that of his fellow preachers: thorough repentance on the part of individuals, followed by a reformation of the church. Moderate as he was, he could see no way out of the impasse but by departing from the traditional church government

[41] Thomas Hill, *The Trade of Truth Advanced* . . . (London, 1642). This sermon, from the point of view of technique, is interesting because it is built around the idea of buying truth, with its text from Proverbs, "Buy the truth, and sell it not."

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and ceremonies and finishing the reformation begun the century before.[42] He was the last preacher who might with some degree of optimism preach an "enjoinder to peace". When the preacher appeared in St. Margaret's on the next fast day, the king had begun to rally his forces at Nottingham, and even the moderate churchmen had joined him. Parliament had now a double task, to conduct a war and to establish a church government.

In both these works the Puritan clergy manfully aided parliament. As members of the Westminster Assembly they strove to evolve a polity suitable to England; and as preachers and chaplains they worked to keep up the country's morale. It was but fitting that they should, for they had not tried to check the growth of civil war. Moderation, compromise, toleration, had, with few exceptions, been sadly lacking in their counsels. A grim demand for vengeance—an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth—had been the keynote of their sermons. The heroes whom they upheld had been the judges, prophets, and kings of the Old Testament—men terrible in their wrath, implacable, driven on by a stern Jehovah.

The Old Testament had done more than supply them with texts. It had colored their thinking. Like the medieval commentator, the preacher and listener found in the words of the Bible a wealth of implication. The names of Moses, Asa, Ezra, and Zerubabbel had a significance almost mystic to Marshall and his contemporaries. The comparison of the task of the commons to the rebuilding of the temple by the Israelites, which is found in many of the sermons, suggested that which would have been almost treasonable had the comparison been carried to its logical conclusion. And indeed it was the more significant because of what was implied. In Marshall's sermon on the work of Josiah, his audience did not need to hear the wrongs of England rehearsed in detail: the "provocations" of Manasseh only too clearly referred to the arbitrary rule of Charles I and Strafford and Laud. Just as to the Christian Socialist of the nineteenth century the Bible was "the history of the People's cause",[43] so to the preachers before the Long Parliament it was the history of Puritanism. The Old Testament especially seemed to rehearse the trials of the righteous as they strove to maintain their integrity against persecution and the wiles of their enemies.

Throughout the sermons, while there was a constant attack on the

[42] Edward Reynolds, *Israel's Petition in Time of Trouble* . . . (London, 1642).

[43] Margaret Farrand Thorp, *Charles Kingsley* (Princeton, 1937), p. 63.

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enemies of Puritanism, there was no less constant praise of parliament. This body, Marshall assured the house of commons, had been raised up by God to "attempt glorious things". God has "put his Name, his Power upon you", Harris informed his hearers. Edward Reynolds warned the house of the tremendous burden of responsibility upon its shoulders, for the nation looked to it as "builders, and healers, and standers in the gap, and repayrers of the waste places". Throughout all the sermons the dependence of the forces of righteousness upon parliament was stressed.

The tone of these sermons was, then, Erastian. Parliament, not convocation, had power to determine the doctrine as well as the polity of the church. But the student of political theory will find little to reward his search for definite ideas as to the relationship of king and parliament or of church and state. These preachers were not thinkers. The old shibboleths sufficed for them. Parliament had acted in the previous century; let it now again take up the task of reformation. They followed the beaten path.

Neither can any liberal ideas be read into their sermons. If they inveighed against Episcopal tyranny, it was the Episcopal phase which they deplored. No more toleration was to be shown to the Arminian than had been shown to the too zealous Calvinist. The church into which they would fashion the Church of England would in fact be a narrower church than it had been before, for while moderate Calvinists had been let alone in the Laudian regime, in this new church there could be room for none but Calvinists. Furthermore, no ceremonies, doctrines, or details of polity were to be permitted which were not specifically commanded by the Word of God. Preaching on Guy Fawkes Day, 1641, Burgess had warned against the toleration which Roman Catholics were advocating. In 1642 Thomas Hill, while he spoke favorably of Christian unity, firmly denounced a comprehensive church as a "Samaritan" church. Only Joseph Symonds lifted his voice for a more tolerant attitude, though even he advocated comprehension rather than a toleration of sects. "All that embrace godlinesse, truth, and serve the peace of the Churches may happily be copartners in each others priviledges", he wrote in the dedicatory epistle of his sermon.

The rise of sectarianism horrified these preachers, for to them, as to Laud, it represented lawlessness and anarchy. Indeed, Burgess in his famous Guy Fawkes sermon quite outdid anything Heylyn or Laud had ever said about sects: "putredinous vermine of bold Schisma-

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ticks and frantick Sectaries" he called those who strayed further from the established church than he and his fellow Calvinists had done. Not realizing that they themselves had paved the way for sectarianism by their attacks upon the established church, they held fast to the old tradition of an established church. How the insistence upon the elect could be reconciled with a national church did not trouble them. The concept of a national church under parliament's control is the theme of these sermons, whether an Independent like Burton or a Presbyterian like Calamy preached.

As to the details of this reformation the divines were vague. To them church reform meant the substitution of Calvinism for Arminianism, the abolition of ceremonies, and the substitution of the clergyman's inspiration for the liturgy. As to church government they either had no definite ideas or did not think it expedient to voice them. "According to the word of God", an oft-repeated phrase, undoubtedly implied Presbyterian polity, which the scheme of the parliamentary leaders for the establishment of lay commissioners would permit. As a group they were not committed to Presbyterianism of the Scottish type. Their sermons, as has been indicated, devoted more attention to the rooting out of Laudian Episcopacy than to the polity which was to succeed it.

Their sermons therefore were not constructive, but as incentives to reform, as inspirations to harry the ungodly and to avenge the woes of the godly, they served their purpose. The seven buckets of tears which Edmund Calamy urged his hearers to shed were probably never shed, even in the highly emotional atmosphere of a fast day, but the mention of them had its effect. The relentless persecution of Archbishop Laud, culminating in his execution, certainly found inspiration in these sermons. Indeed, the grim hatred with which such Anglicans as Peter Heylyn and Herbert Thorndike viewed the Puritan clergy after the Restoration is explained, if not excused, by a perusal of them.

Reinforced by pamphlets and sermons heard from other pulpits, the sermons preached before the house of commons undoubtedly helped to create a public opinion hostile to Episcopacy. Intent upon righting wrongs, the preachers were happily unaware that they were helping to hasten the triumph of sectarianism. Indeed their singleness of purpose, their inability to realize into what chaos they were plunging the ordered life of the Anglican Church, and their undoubted sincerity

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made them at once powerful and vulnerable. Their sermons help to explain why the Westminster Assembly and parliament were to find it difficult to agree upon a form of church government to replace Episcopacy, and, more important, they help to reproduce the atmosphere of the very significant months in which England was drifting from limited monarchy into revolution.

ETHYN WILLIAMS KIRBY.

Providence.

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NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

The Mormons and the Colorado River

During the colonization of the Great Basin of the West, Brigham Young and his followers experienced difficulties and hardships in transporting both immigrants and goods to the Mormon Mecca. The route used by the Saints in their trek westward in 1847, sometimes referred to as the "Mormon Trail", was via Omaha, North Platte River, South Pass, Fort Bridger, and thence across the mountains into Salt Lake Valley. This was the main route followed by Mormon immigrants until the building of the iron road from the East to the Pacific Ocean. It was, however, very unsatisfactory. Winter snows on the Rocky Mountains effectually shut the Saints off from commerce with the people of the East for nearly half of the year. Furthermore, transportation across the plains and over the mountains from Omaha by ox teams was very expensive and laborious.

Before the Saints had been in their new home in the West a full five months, some of the more adventurous pioneers and explorers had traversed the deserts and mountains from Salt Lake City to the Pacific Coast, not only by way of the "northern route" along the Humboldt River to San Francisco but also via the "southern route" to Los Angeles. These frontiersmen soon recognized the superiority of the southern over the northern route. They believed the Indians in the south to be less hostile. The route was never blockaded by heavy snows such as often rendered passage through the Sierra Nevada impossible. The southern route also had the advantage of a congenial climate, making travel practicable throughout the entire year.

For these and other reasons the Mormons worked assiduously in helping to develop the southern route to the sea.[1] Shortly after 1847 a good wagon road was opened up from the Basin to Los Angeles which proved to be the most popular route to the Pacific Coast throughout the next twenty years. Although some of the early-season travelers to California went via Fort Hall and the Humboldt, the southern route was the one always used later in the season. Sheep drivers also repeatedly traversed this road. "Consequently it was the most important

[1] John Henry Evans, *Charles Coulson Rich, Pioneer Builder of the West* (Norwood, 1936), pp. 171-225.

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route for freighters as well as emigrants [between the Great Basin and California] until the completion of the Central Pacific and Union Pacific railroads in 1869 restored the preference for the old western [northern] route" from Salt Lake City.[2]

During the early period of Utah history the Mormons paid little attention to establishing settlements or developing in other ways the northern route to the sea. Before 1857 Brigham City, which lies only sixty miles from Salt Lake City, was the most distant colony from the Mormon Mecca along that route with the exception of Genoa, Carson Valley, Nevada. But by the time they had been in the Basin ten years (1857), Brigham and his followers had established thirty towns on the most favorable sites along the road to Los Angeles. The number of settlements had been increased to forty before the death of the Mormon leader in 1877. Young and his associates planned and established a continuous line of communities from Salt Lake City to San Bernardino, a distance of over seven hundred miles, thereby erecting a line of supply stations along the southern route.

We turn now to a project of Young's of which very little has been known. He was anxious to develop a cheaper mode of transportation in order to reduce the heavy expense involved in bringing immigrants and merchandise into the Utah Territory. With the steady growth of Mormon colonization southwestward toward the Pacific Coast, he conceived the idea of utilizing the Colorado River as a possible solution of the expensive transportation problem. In 1855 he began investigating this route. Little was known at that time of the navigability of the Colorado. In order to "get the soundings of the river and see if it were navigable for boats", Governor Young sent Rufus Allen with four companions to explore it.[3] They traveled as far as Las Vegas springs, located in what is now southern Nevada, with William Bringhurst and a group of missionary colonists who had been sent there by Governor Young to establish a Mormon settlement. They reached Las Vegas springs on June 15, 1855. Bringhurst assigned two of his company, Sylvester Hulet and George W. Bean, to accompany Allen's exploring expedition.

Four days after arriving at Las Vegas, Allen and his companions started off for the Colorado. After traveling twenty-eight miles

[2] John Walter Caughey, "Southwest from Salt Lake in 1849", *Pacific Historical Review*, VI (1937), 164.

[3] Record of Las Vegas Mission, June 17, 1855, Latter-day Saints church archives, Salt Lake City. The present study is based largely upon manuscript material in these archives.

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they reached the river and followed its course. They remained on the trip only five days and then returned to Vegas and reported that on account of the extreme heat and desert country it was impracticable to proceed farther at that season of the year. Although they had traveled down the river for two days, they had found nothing but barren deserts, high mountains, and deep canyons. It was impossible for them to decide with certainty on the feasibility of navigating the Colorado to its mouth.[4]

Two years more passed before the interest of the Saints was again awakened in regard to the navigation of the Colorado. In the fall of 1857 the United States Department of War sent Lieutenant Joseph C. Ives "to explore the Colorado River for the purpose . . . of learning whether it could be used to advantage in the transportation of soldiers and munitions of war on the way to the valley of Salt Lake".[5] Lieutenant Ives brought to the Pacific Coast a small steamer having "powerful machinery adapted for stemming the currents". It had been tried on the Delaware River, found to answer expectations, and taken to pieces and transported seventy-five miles up the Colorado River, where its parts were landed and reassembled. Then the ship, christened the *Explorer,* was launched, and Ives sailed a distance of one hundred fifty miles up the river to Fort Yuma, where the Gila River flows into the Colorado.[6] The course of the stream above the mouth of the Gila was found to be crooked and the channel obstructed by numerous shifting sand bars. For miles the river flowed through a desert where at certain times high winds filled the air with fine sand almost to the point of obstructing vision. Upon reaching a point two hundred and seventy-two miles above Fort Yuma, Lieutenant Ives was able to get his ship over a troublesome rapid only by fastening a line to the shore and helping the ship up. He reported to the United States government as follows: "It appeared, therefore, that the foot of Black Cañon should be considered the practical head of navigation, and I concluded to have a reconnaissance made to connect that point with the Mormon road, and to let this finish the exploration of the navigable portion of the Colorado."[7]

An editorial appeared in the *Alta Californian* on May 20, 1858,

[4] George W. Bean to George A. Smith, *ibid.,* June 24, 1855.

[5] *Los Angeles Star,* Dec. 5, 1857; *Alta Californian,* May 20, 1858.

[6] "On January 13, Lieutenant Ives started with the Explorer from Fort Yuma upon the unknown waters of the Colorado." *Deseret News,* July 21, 1858.

[7] Ives, *Report upon the Colorado River of the West* (Washington, 1861), p. 87.

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which helped to heighten the interest of the Mormons in the transportation possibilities of the Colorado River. The editorial stated: "At a distance of 325 miles above Fort Yuma is the great kanyon of the Colorado. . . . The mouth of this kanyon is the head of navigation, at least for boats on the lower part of the river. The body of water is large at the kanyon, and perhaps the river may be navigable above it. . . . From the mouth of the kanyon to Las Vegas is fifty miles." [8]

When the report reached Salt Lake City that "examination of the Colorado River for navigation was being conducted by the United States Government with some success", the hope of using the river as an outlet to the sea was revived in Brigham's mind.[9] He waited hardly long enough for Lieutenant Ives's expedition to sail down stream before he dispatched George A. Smith with a company of twenty men "to explore the Rio Colorado and the country adjacent to it for suitable locations for settlements of the Saints".[10] Smith and his companions left Cedar City on March 31, 1858, and made their way to the Colorado by following the courses of the Santa Clara and the Rio Virgin. After traveling down the Colorado as far as Beal's Crossing and searching in vain for desirable sites for settlements, they returned to Cedar City. Probably Smith's report was instrumental in the postponement of plans for developing shipping via the Colorado. During the next few years, however, the leaders exerted their energies in strengthening the colonies south of the rim of the Basin and in planting new towns on the southern route to the sea at important points on the Virgin, Santa Clara, and Muddy rivers.

When President Young and company visited the colonies in Utah Dixie[11] in May, 1861, they found that, notwithstanding the efforts during the past to colonize that region, the number of inhabitants was still very small—only seventy-nine families, living in eight small towns. The Mormon leaders, therefore, decided to exert special efforts in colonizing and developing "the natural resources of the south part of Utah". Accordingly, at the October conference of 1861 held in Salt Lake City, President Young called 309 families to establish a city at the junction of the Santa Clara and Rio Virgin. A total of 748 persons responded to the call, and President Young named the new city

[8] *Alta Californian*, May 20, 1858.

[9] History of Saint George Stake, 1847-73, f. 37, Latter-day Saints church archives.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] The elevation drops very rapidly in the southwest corner of Utah, which results in a much milder climate around Saint George than in other parts of the state. On account of this mild climate that part of Utah is called Dixie.

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"Saint George".[12] At the same time a company of thirty families of Swiss converts settled at Santa Clara, five miles from Saint George. In the fall of 1864 a number of missionaries were sent to form colonies on the Muddy River, a tributary of the Virgin.

Brigham Young was now ready to test the practicability of directing immigration traffic and the transportation of goods from Europe and New York to the Caribbean Sea, overland across the Isthmus of Panama, and thence, via the Gulf of California, up the Colorado to the head of navigation. He announced to his followers: "We shall shortly want another path to bring home the Saints, and we want to prepare for it. . . . The Colorado is not far from our southern settlements, only one hundred twenty-five miles from Saint George."[13] He also stated that if he went to live in Dixie, "he would soon have steamboats passing up the Colorado".[14] Saint George was to serve as an inland supply station for the other communities in the Dixie country and as an outpost to furnish supplies to immigrants bound for Salt Lake City.

Shortly after making the foregoing statements, on November 1, 1864, Brigham appointed Bishop Anson Call to establish a colony directly on the Colorado. Call received the following instructions: "Take a suitable company, locate a road to the Colorado, explore the river, find a suitable place for a warehouse, build it, and form a settlement at or near the landing."[15] In that same month the leading merchants of Salt Lake City formed "The Deseret Mercantile Association", the controlling interest in this organization being held by the church. Call was appointed the official agent for the association and immigration agent for the Mormon church. It was the purpose of the association to ship merchandise from New York and other eastern cities by water to Panama. From there the goods were to be shipped up the west coast of Mexico, through the Gulf of California, and up the Colorado River to the uppermost point that could be successfully navigated.

Call and his companions left Salt Lake on November 15, 1864. At Santa Clara, Jacob Hamblin, the most famous Mormon explorer and Indian missionary, joined the party to act as guide and interpreter. Call's report of December 2 stated:

> We came to the Colorado River a mile below the narrows and several miles above the mouth of Black Canyon. About one-half of a mile below

[12] "Saint George Stake", f. 73. [13] *Deseret News*, Mar. 2, 1864. [14] *Ibid.*
[15] Brigham Young on Call's Landing, "Saint George Stake", Nov. 1, 1864.

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the mouth of the wash [Callville Wash], we found a black rocky point, which we considered a suitable locality for the erection of a warehouse above high water marks; here we considered the best landing could be established. We found the river . . . one hundred fifty yards wide, or about as wide as the Illinois River—the selected site can be made as good a landing as the Peoria landing.[16]

The location chosen for the warehouse was on the north bank of the Colorado about fifteen miles upstream from the site of the present Boulder Dam. The place was given the name of Call's Landing, known also as Call's Fort and Old Callville. After selecting the site for the warehouse, the explorers continued down the Colorado one hundred and fifty miles to Hardy's Landing, near the extreme southern tip of Nevada, and thence to Fort Mojave. They then returned to the site previously chosen with a conviction that the best place had been selected. "Laborers, mechanics, supplies, tools, and every necessary thing to facilitate the erection of the warehouse without delay" were secured at Saint George.[17] In February, 1865, the building was completed. Portions of the old warehouse were still standing when Boulder Dam was constructed. At the present time the remains of Old Callville are submerged in the waters of the Colorado.

When the warehouse was first completed, the Saints were rather optimistic as to the advantages they expected that steam navigation and the establishing of Call's Landing would bring to the inhabitants of the Great Basin. Several editorials and articles appeared in the *Deseret News* in the spring of 1865. One article definitely pointed out that a church warehouse had been built "one hundred twenty-five miles from Saint George, it being contemplated to have the Church immigration from Europe come to Utah via Panama and the Gulf of California, and up the Colorado to this landing as the highest practicable head of navigation on the river".[18] In the words of an editorial:

> We are satisfied that the Colorado route will receive a fair and thorough trial, with flattering prospects of becoming, sooner or later, commercially beneficial. . . . [Goods] can be brought by water to within some five hundred miles of this city [Salt Lake], and from there by land transportation on a road free from desert and alkali water, and affording markets at short intervals along its entire length.[19]

There was very little shipping, however, either to or from Call's Landing. On January 2, 1865, William H. Hardy left Hardy's Landing in a flatbottomed barge and by means of poles and oars propelled

[16] Call to George A. Smith, *ibid.*, Dec. 25, 1864. [17] *Ibid.*
[18] "Report on Call's Landing", *Deseret News*, Jan. 20, 1865.
[19] "The Colorado Route", *ibid.*, Mar. 8, 1865.

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it to Call's Landing, arriving there in twelve days. He believed that with a little work upon the stream bed the Colorado could be made safe for steam navigation. At least three trips per month could be made from the mouth of the river to Call's Landing. Hardy was also of the opinion that goods could be shipped up and down the river most successfully during the month of April and from July to October. The high water and driftwood would make navigation unsafe from the middle of May to early in July.[20]

Thomas E. Trueworthy attempted to bring one hundred tons of freight to Call's Landing in the spring of 1865. He arrived at his destination with only part of his load, having had to leave some of it at La Paz. Learning that Bishop Call had returned to the Great Basin, Trueworthy left his steamboat and cargo at the landing and made a trip overland to Salt Lake City, where he gave a discouraging report on Colorado River transportation.[21]

Whether or not the Mormans would have made the Colorado a practicable shipping route was never determined, for hardly had Call's Landing been built when their attention was turned from it to the transcontinental railway then under construction. Thus conditions beyond Brigham Young's control put an end to his plan of making the Colorado the main route of entrance into the Territory of Utah. Realizing that a railroad would supply cheaper and safer transportation, Brigham and his people abandoned the Colorado River project and gave their full support to the construction of the newer agent—the railway—in which they had for years been interested.

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[20] Latter-day Saints Journal History, Jan. 14, 1865, Latter-day Saints church archives.
[21] *Ibid.*, Mar. 25, 1865.

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DOCUMENTS

Coronado's Muster Roll

Our knowledge of the first great exploring expedition into the American Southwest is derived in large part from the narrative of a common soldier, Pedro de Castañeda, written twelve years after the conclusion of the stirring events it describes. This account was published first in an imperfect French translation in Paris in 1838 and later in both Spanish and English from an original text, preserved in the New York Public Library, by George Parker Winship in 1896.[1] Mr. Winship did not consult the Archives of the Indies in Seville but nevertheless managed, by a thorough search of previous publications, to collect the extant documents on the subject to such good effect that since the appearance of his book, little of any value dealing with the expedition has been found, even in the Archives.[2] The instructions of the viceroy to the commander, the official diary of the expedition, the official list of its personnel and equipment, Coronado's own official report after his return, and the viceroy's formal report to the crown—in short, a good part of the documentation—have been lacking. Spanish law required such records to be kept, and papers of this kind have usually been carefully preserved. In the course of certain investigations in the Archives of the Indies in 1936 the writer was fortunate enough to encounter one of these essential documents, the missing muster roll, which is reproduced below. The four hundredth anniversary of the Coronado expedition, which is to be

[1] Henri Ternaux-Campans, *Voyages, relations, et mémoires originaux pour servir à l'histoire de la découverte de l'Amérique* (20 vols., Paris, 1837-41); Winship, *The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542,* in the *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1896). See also the reprinting in the Trail Makers series under the title, *The Journey of Coronado* (New York, 1904), which is superior at many points in the translation but lacks the full notes and bibliography of Winship's earlier edition. Another edition, with additional notes and an introduction by Frederick Webb Hodge, was published in San Francisco in 1933. As this last was a limited edition and hence is not widely available, and as the 1896 edition is out of print, references in the text of the document here presented are to the more widely available translation in the Trail Makers series. For an authoritative discussion of the bibliography consult H. R. Wagner, *The Spanish Southwest, 1542-1794* (2 vols., Albuquerque, Quivira Society, 1937), I, 105-15.

[2] H. R. Wagner, "California Voyages, 1539-1541", *Quarterly of the California Historical Society,* III, 302-303. See also his recent census of Coronado publications in *The Spanish Southwest.*

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celebrated next year, gives a timely interest to the publication of this document.

The original purpose of Coronado's muster had been to provide an answer to the charge that New Spain was being depopulated as men flocked to join his forces and that it would be defenseless in the event of an Indian uprising.[3] The document is of value now as a research implement in that it provides a nearly complete and authentic list of those who went on the expedition and hence may have left diaries or later *relaciones de servicios*. It lists the names of a total of two hundred and twenty-five horsemen, by rank and company, and, similarly, sixty-two foot soldiers. The Winship narratives provided a list of only thirty-seven names, including Coronado and the religious. The religious, with a small military escort, had gone on in advance, and a few soldiers had not arrived from Mexico City when the muster was held, so that their names, with some exceptions which will be noted, are unfortunately lacking from the list.[4] Along with each man's name, properly described as to rank and in the order of the military formation, appear the number of horses which he provided, either personally or as a gift from the viceroy, inclusive of the pack animals of certain of the infantrymen. Five hundred and fifty-eight horses, two of them mares, are accounted for in the muster.[5] The presence and separate listing of only two mares suggests that we may have been credulous in the belief that stray horses from the Coronado expedition stocked the Western plains with their first horses.[6] A lone mule is listed as belonging to Juan Pérez de Vegara.

[3] "When Mendoza reached Compostela, by the middle of February, 1540, Coronado asked him to make an official investigation of these complaints. The formal request is dated February 21, and the following day, Sunday, the viceroy held a grand review of the whole array, with everyone ready equipped for the march. As the men passed before the viceregal party the secretaries made an exact count and description of the force, but this document is not now known." Winship, *Coronado Expedition*, pp. 377-78.

[4] Castañeda, in reporting the total force to be three hundred Spaniards and eight hundred natives, undoubtedly included the group that had gone on in advance. Winship, *Journey of Coronado*, p. 10.

[5] "Son quinientos e çinquenta e dos cavallos" is the statement in the summary, but it overlooks four horses in the foot soldier group, and the "twenty-two or twenty-three" reported by Coronado and the "sixteen or seventeen" reported by Lope de Samaniego are, in both instances, given at the lower figure.

[6] See Clark Wissler, "The Influence of the Horse in the Development of Plains Culture", *American Anthropologist*, XVI (1914), 1-25. Francisco de Santillán and Miguel Suares (or Sánchez) are the two owners of mares, and no record of a loss by them has survived. For more recent discussions, which take the view that horses were introduced later, see Francis Haines, "Where did the Plains Indians get their Horses" and "The Northward Spread of Horses among the Plains Indians", *ibid.*, XL, 112-17; 429-37.

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Interestingly and humanly enough, a check of about forty of the men who later presented claims against the government for services on the expedition, now conveniently available in the work of Francisco A. de Icaza, shows an almost invariable tendency on the part of claimants to multiply the number of horses they had provided, and in no case was any acknowledgment made of indebtedness to the viceroy for horses, despite the well-proved fact that his ranches provided most of them gratis.[7] Moreover, a thorough search reveals that the names of some claimants, including the Scot, Tomás Blaque (Thomas Black, Blake, Blackie, or Blaikie), who claimed he had been with the expedition for three years,[8] do not appear on the muster roll at all. The charitable view is that they were with the escort of the advance party or were late in arriving from Mexico City.

The weapons listed in the muster roll vary from person to person. The artillery is not described, although it is mentioned in the Castañeda narrative in various places, and this document carries the name of Hernando de Alvarado as captain of artillery. The horsemen, according to the muster roll, were equipped in the majority of cases with lances and swords, and some carried extra daggers. The foot soldiers were armed with twenty-two harquebuses, the primitive ancestor of the musket, fifteen crossbows, and a variety of swords, daggers, and native weapons from Mexico. Indeed, one of the surprises encountered in a perusal of the document is the fact that practically every soldier declares that he possesses arms of the country, *armas de la tierra,* and in many cases only native Mexican weapons are reported.

This departure from the idealized picture contained in many textbook illustrations and murals is further accentuated by an examination of the armor reported in the document. Only a few of the soldiers reported a full European equipment of armor,[9] though nearly all had one or two pieces of Spanish armor, for example, a pair of kneepieces, a coat of mail, a helmet, a corselet, a bevor, or gauntlets. The great majority wore native buckskin suits of armor, *cueras de anta,* which were much more comfortable on the march and quite effective against Indian weapons. European armor must either have been at a premium, or else the men had learned from their sojourn in America the superiority of the lighter armor for fighting in the New World. In any event, it was an interesting early move toward the kind of fighting equip-

[7] Icaza, *Conquistadores y pobladores de Nueva España* (2 vols., Madrid, 1923).

[8] *Ibid.*, no. 738.

[9] Coronado, with his famous gilded suit of armor, is a case in point, and Velasco reports "un arnés", which implies a complete harness.

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ment that became standard, with the addition of a buckskin or cowhide shield, on the northern frontier by the close of the seventeenth century.

The muster roll closes with an attested copy of the oaths of fealty and allegiance administered to Coronado and to the members of the expedition at the end of the review. This particular copy of the roll and oaths was dated at Compostela, a few days after the muster, February 27, when, after the excitement of the departure, the notaries had time to get the papers in order.

The Roman numerals before the names indicate the number of horses supplied by the individual. In the text as printed below the notarial totals by pages have been omitted. Abbreviations have been expanded, but modern accents, capitalization, punctuation, and spelling have not been provided. "Xpoual", for example, has not been changed to "Cristóbal", and throughout the effort has been to approximate as closely as printing allows a palaeographic transcription of the original.

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THE MUSTER ROLL [10]

Alarde Compostela . . . 1540

El alarde q[ue] se hizo de la gente quel virrey enbio a cibola.

Cibola soldados

Yo Juan de cuebas escriuano mayor de mynas e relaçiones[11] desta nueua [E]spaña por su mag[esta]d digo e doy ffee, que en la ciudad de compostella de la nueva galizia de la nueua [E]spaña estando presente el yll[ustrísi]mo señor don antonio de mendoça visorrey e gouer[nad]or desta nueua [E]spaña por su m[ages]t[ad] e gonçalo de salazar ffactor e peralmyndes cherino[12] veedor de la d[ic]ha nueua [E]spaña y xpoual d[e]oñate veedor de la d[ic]ha p[r]obinçia e otra mucha gente se hizo el alarde de toda la gente q[ue] va a la t[ie]rra nueuamente descubierta por el padre proui[nci]al frai marcos de niça[13] de que va por capitan general fran[cis]co

[10] The archival description is as follows: "Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, Legajo 5, Documento 2. Extracto del documento. 1540 Aud[ienci]a de Guadalajara. Testimonio en relacion de la gente armas y municiones que salió de compostela en N[uev]a E[spañ]a (siendo Virrey de ella D[o]n Ant[oni]o de Mendoza) que se llevó a la tierra nuevam[en]te descubierta por el P[adr]e fr[ay] Marcos de Niza, cuyo General fue Fran[cis]co Vasquez Coronado."

[11] A literal translation would be "chief notary of mines and reports".

[12] Spelled in a variety of forms in contemporary documents—"Chirinos" and "Cherinos" seem to be preferred.

[13] Wagner found only one contemporary statement that Niza was provincial of the Franciscans (*Spanish Southwest*, I, 96-103). This provides a second one, and conclusive evidence is contained in the royal permission of April 17, 1538, in which Charles V authorizes Mendoza to send out the "Rdv. Padre Fray Marcos de Niça probincial de la orden de Sr. San Francisco en la Provincia de la N. España" to discover new lands to the north. Arch. Gen. de Indias, Justicia papers, estante 48, cajón 3, legaho 3/30.

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vazq[ue]z de coronado el qual d[ic]ho alarde se hizo en veinte e dos dias del mes de hebr[er]o de mill e q[uinient]os e quarenta años siendo presente el s[eñ]or lic[encia]do maldonado oidor[14] en la forma e manera sig[ient]e.

XXIII Capitan general fran[cis]co vazquez de coronado[15] juro q[ue] lleua en esta dicha jornada en serui[ci]o de su magestad veynte e dos o veynte e tres cauallos e tres o quatro adereços de armas de la brida y de la gineta.[16]

XVII El maestre de campo lope de samaniego[17] allide juro q[ue] lleua diez e seis o diez e siete cauallos e dos cueras de anta[18] e vna cocta de malla e sus adereços y vnas coraças e armas de la t[ie]rra por q[ue] lo demas q[ue] traia se le quemo.

XIII dom pedro de tobar[19] alferez mayor juro lleuar treze cauallos vna cocta e vnas coraças e otros adereços e armas de la t[ie]rra.

V don lope de gurrea[20] çinco cauallos y armas de la t[ie]rra e armaduras de castilla e de cabeça e de cuera de anta.

III Hernando de aluarado[21] capitan del artilleria quatro cauallos vna cocta e mangas y armas de la t[ie]rra e otros adereços e armas de la t[ie]rra.

III don alonsso manrrique[22] tres cauallos armas de la t[ie]rra y armas de castilla e p[ar]a cabeça y cuera de anta.

VII juan gallego[23] vna cocta e calçones e vna cuera de anta e vna ballesta e otras armas de castilla e de la t[ie]rra e siete cauallos.

III Salinas[24] hijo de andres de salinas estante en megico tres cauallos vna cocta de malla y armas de la t[ie]rra e p[ar]a la cabeça.

III Rodrigo de frias tres cauallos armas de la t[ie]rra e vna cuera de anta.

III Fran[cis]co de santillan dos cavallos e vna yegua[25] cuera de anta armas de la t[ie]rra.

III Andres de campo tres cavallos armas de la t[ie]rra y vna cuera de anta.

III Alonso de velasco tres cavallos e armas de la t[ie]rra cocta e vn caxco.

I Lope gallego vn cauallo vn arcabuz armas de la t[ie]rra.

II Anton delgado dos cavallos armas de la t[ie]rra e para la cab[ez]a.

I Velasco vn cau[all]o y vn arnes armas de la t[ie]rra.

I Fran[cis]co de symancas vn cauallo y armas de la t[ie]rra.

[14] Judge of the audiencia of New Spain.

[15] Icaza, no. 364.

[16] Including, of course, his famous gilded suit of armor, with its helmet crested with plumes. A reading of "de la grumeta" is also possible but does not fit the sense of the passage.

[17] Winship, p. 11.

[18] Apparently a buckskin protective covering for the body as the expression "cuera de malla" is used for a coat of mail.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

[20] Undoubtedly the Don Lope de Urrea of the Castañeda narrative. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

[21] One of the rescuers of Coronado at Cíbola. Icaza, no. 1221; Winship, pp. 12, 24.

[22] Icaza, no. 1369; Winship, p. 12, where he appears as Don Alonso Manrique de Lara.

[23] Winship, pp. 25, 26. [24] Icaza, no. 1290.

[25] One of the two mares listed in this muster.

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I Marco Romano vn cau[all]o y armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Juan perez aragones vn cauallo y armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Fran[cis]co munoz[26] vn cau[all]o y armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Juan de pena[s][27] vn cauallo e armas de la t[ie]rra.
I M[ar]tin destepa vn cauallo y armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Xpoual de la hoz vn cau[all]o y armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Andres berrugo vn cau[all]o e armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Gomez Roman vn cauallo e armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Xpoual velasco vn cau[all]o armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Pe[d]ro mendez de sotomaior[28] vn cauallo e armas de la t[ie]rra dos p[ar]es.
IIII Gomez Xaurez de Figueroa quatro cavallos armas de la t[ie]rra çelada e barbote e vnas coraças.
IIII Juan batista de san vitorees vna cocta e vna çelada e vn barbote e vna cuera e armas de la t[ie]rra e quatro cav[all]os.
V Garçia del castillo çinco cauallos vna cuera de anta vna cocta de malla vna manopla.
III Alonso de canseco tres cavallos e vna cocta e vna cuera de anta armas de la t[ie]rra.
IIII Melchior perez[29] quatro cavallos vna cuera de malla e cuera de anta armas de la t[ie]rra.
IIII Domingo m[art]in quatro cavallos vna cuera de malla otra de anta vn corsete armas de la t[ie]rra.
II Lope de la cadena dos cavallos armas de la t[ie]rra.
II Melchior de rrobles dos cavallos e vna çelada vn barbotte armas de la t[ie]rra vna cuera de anta.
I Andres m[ar]tin vn cau[all]o armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Pedro deçija vn cau[all]o e vn caxco barbote armas de la t[ie]rra.
II Pedro linares dos cavallos y armas de la tierra.
II Juan de rramos dos cavallos e armas de la t[ie]rra.
V Pedro de ledesma[30] çinco cauallos vna cocta vn barbote çelada armas de la t[ie]rra.
XII Capitan don garçia lopez de cardenas[31] doze cauallos tres parez de armas de castilla e dos pares de coraças vna cocta de malla.
V Juan nauarro çinco cauallos vna cuera de malla armas de la tierra vna çelada vn barbote.
II Alonso del moral alferez desta compañia dos cauallos vn barbote vna çelada armas de la t[ie]rra.
V R[odrig]o de ysla çinco cauallos armas de la t[ie]rra vna cocta e otras armas.
III Juan lopez tres cauallos armas de la t[ie]rra.
II Fran[cis]co gomez dos cauallos armas de la t[ie]rra vna ballesta e vn puñal.
I Her[nan]do botello[32] vn cauallo armas de la t[ie]rra.

[26] Icaza, no. 250. [27] *Ibid.*, no. 752, the name appears as "Peñas".

[28] Chronicler of the discovery of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado by the López de Cárdenas side expedition, Winship, p. 37.

[29] Icaza, no. 1144. [30] *Ibid.*, no. 1166.

[31] Winship, pp. 35 ff., tells of his journey with twelve companions to the Grand Canyon of the Colorado.

[32] Icaza, no. 1301.

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III Maestre miguel e su hijo tres cauallos vna cocta de malla e vn jubon de malla caxco e su hijo armas de la t[ie]rra barbote e çelada.

VI Capitan gutierrez de la caualleria seis cauallos vna cocta vnos caraguelles de malla vna cuera de anta tres armas de la t[ie]rra.

VI Juan de villareal[33] alferez seys cauallos vn coselete vna çelada vn barbote vna cuera de malla armas de la t[ie]rra.

IIII Alonso lopez quatro cauallos e vna çelada vn barbote armas de la t[ie]rra.

II Ger[óni]mo de estrada dos cauallos armas de la t[ie]rra vna cocta de malla vna cuera de anta.

II Peroboo[34] dos cauallos armas de la t[ie]rra vna cuera de anta.

I Fran[cis]co de parada vn cau[all]o armas de la tierra vna cuera de anta.

II G[erónim]o hernandez dos cauallos vna cuera de anta armas de la t[ie]rra.

I Baltasar de Azebedo vn cau[all]o armas de la t[ie]rra.

II Miguel S[uar]es (*or* S[ánch]es) vn cavallo e vna yegua[35] armas de la t[ie]rra.

I Al[ons]o M[art]in parra vn cau[all]o y armas de la tierra.

V Juan Gomez de paradiñas[36] çinco cauallos vna cota vn caxco armas de la t[ie]rra.

VII Capitan diego lopez[37] veynte e quatro de seuilla siete cauallos vna cuera de malla con sus adereços vn barbote armas de la t[ie]rra.

II Fran[cis]co de castro dos cauallos vna cuera de anta armas de la tierra.

I R[odrig]o descobar vn cau[all]o armas de la tierra.

II Diego de morilla dos cau[all]os armas de la t[ie]rra.

I Nofre hernandez vn cau[all]o armas de la t[ie]rra.

I Martin hernandez vn cau[all]o armas de la t[ie]rra.

I Pe[d]ro hernandez vn cau[all]o armas de la t[ie]rra.

I Alonso de aranda vn cau[all]o armas de la t[ie]rra.

II Grauiel lopez[38] dos cauallos armas de la t[ie]rra vn barbote e çelada.

III Bar[tolo]me napolitano tres cau[all]os armas de la t[ie]rra.

V Capitan don R[odig]o maldonado[39] çinco cauallos vna cota de malla. con sus adereços e caraguelles barbote e çelada armas de la t[ie]rra.

V Juan de torquemada alferez çinco cauallos vna cotta caxo y armas de la t[ie]rra.

II Fran[cis]co gutierrez dos cauallos armas de la t[ie]rra vna çelada.

[33] *Ibid.*, no. 548. At Coronado's command, he returned with news of the expedition.

[34] Clearly this in the original document. Pe[d]ro boo is what we should expect, from the town of Boo near Santander, Spain.

[35] See above, notes 6 and 25.

[36] In all likelihood the petitioner listed in Icaza, no. 837.

[37] "The alderman from Seville", who was present at the action in which Lope de Samaniego met his death; he also led a side expedition to Haxa. Winship, pp. 16, 66.

[38] Icaza, no. 1103.

[39] Led an advance party on the march to Quivira to a ravine, which had been reached earlier by Cabeza de Vaca. Winship, p. 67.

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II Sancho Ro[drígue]s dos cau[all]os armas de la t[ie]rra vna cuera de anta.
I Alonso de Medina vn cau[all]o armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Her[nan]do de barahona vn cau[all]o armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Leonardo sanchez vna cuera de anta caxco armas de la t[ie]rra vn cau[all]o.
I [Juan de] çepeda[40] vn cau[all]o armas de la t[ie]rra.
III Anton miguel tres cauallos armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Gaspar de guadalupe vn cau[all]o armas de la t[ie]rra.
II Her[nan]do de caso verde dos cauallos y armas de la t[ie]rra vna cuera de anta e vn bastidor.
VIII Capitan don tristan de arellano[41] ocho cauallos vna cuera mangas y caraguelles de malla armas de la t[ie]rra vnas platas vna çelada vn barbote vn arcabuz dos ballestas vna espada de dos manos tres spadas e otras armas p[ar]a sy e p[ar]a sus criados.
V Alonso perez[42] çinco cauallos vna cotta y cuera de malla e armas de la t[ie]rra.
III Juan de solis farfan tres cauallos armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Fran[cis]co Rodriguez vn cauallo armas de la t[ie]rra vna çelada.
II Jorge paez dos cauallos armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Miguel de castro vn cauallo armas de la t[ie]rra.
II Miguel S[uar]es (S[anch]es) de plazençia dos cauallos vna cuera de anta armas de la t[ie]rra.
III Pedro nieto tres cauallos vna cotta armas de la t[ie]rra.
V Capitan don diego de gueuara[43] çinco cauallos vna cuera de anta vna çelada armas de la t[ie]rra.
III Diego hernandez alferez tres cauallos vna cotta armas de la t[ie]rra.
IIII Pedro mayoral quatro cau[all]os vna cuera de malla con sus faldas vn barbote e çelada armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Fran[cis]co de oliuares[44] vn cau[all]o armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Xpoual gutierrez vn cau[all]o armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Andres P[ere]z vn cau[all]o armas de la t[ie]rra.
III Goncalo de castilla tres cau[all]os e armas de la t[ie]rra.
II Pedro de najera dos cauallos vna cuera de malla armas de la t[ie]rra.
II Luys hernandez dos cauallos vna cuera de malla gorxal vn barbote armas de la t[ie]rra.
V Alonso go[me]s alferez çinco cauallos vna cotta de malla vna cuera de anta armas de la t[ie]rra.
III Alonso de paradiñas tres cauallos vna cota de malla vna cuera de anta barbote çelada armas de la t[ie]rra.
II Xpoual Cau[aller]o dos cauallos vnas coraças caxco vn barbote armas de la tierra.
II Pe[d]ro hernandez dos cavallos armas de la t[ie]rra vna çelada vna cuera de anta.

[40] Undoubtedly the Juan de Cepeda who later claimed to have lost two horses on the expedition. Icaza, no. 1321.

[41] Winship, p. 11; Icaza, no. 516.

[42] Eldest son of the *bachiller* Alonzo Pérez. Icaza, no. 63.

[43] "The son of Don Juan de Guevara and nephew of the Count of Oñate . . .", Winship, p. 11.

[44] Icaza, no. 1214.

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III Fran[cis]co de portales tres cau[all]os vna cuera de anta vna cotta de malla armas de la t[ie]rra.
II Anton g[a]r[ci]a dos cavallos armas de la t[ie]rra.
II Pedro marquez dos cavallos e armas de la tierra.
I Martin hernandez vn cau[all]o vna cuera de anta.
II Alonso maldonado dos cav[all]os armas de la tierra.
II Juan paniagua[45] dos cavallos e armas de la t[ie]rra vna cotta e vna çelada.
I Pe[d]ro go[me]s vn cau[all]o armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Antonio aluarez vn cau[all]o armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Fernand go[me]s[46] vn cau[all]o armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Manuel hernandez vn cau[all]o e armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Bar[tolo]me del canpo vn cau[all]o y armas de la t[ie]rra.
II Fran[cis]co go[me]s dos cavallos y armas de la t[ie]rra.
II Xpoual maldonado[47] dos cavallos armas de la t[ie]rra.
III Juan de contreras tres cau[all]os e armas de la t[ie]rra.
III Juan galeras tres cau[all]os vna cocta armas de la t[ie]rra.
IIII Fran[cis]co calderon quatro cavallos vna cocta armas de la t[ie]rra.
III Velasco de barrio nuevo tres cauallos vna cota de malla vna cuera danta armas de la t[ie]rra.
II Rodrigo de barrio nuevo su h[e]r[man]o dos cauallos armaduras de cabeça y de la t[ie]rra.
V Luys de bargas çinco cauallos vna cotta de malla armaduras de cabeça armas de la t[ie]rra.
V Fran[cis]co douando çinco cauallos vna cotta armadura de cabeça armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Fernan go[me]s[48] con armas de la t[ie]rra vn cau[all]o.
II Fernan paez dos cauallos armas de la t[ie]rra.
II Gaspar de saldaña dos cauallos y armaduras de la t[ie]rra.
III Juan Xarami[ll]o[49] tres cauallos armas de la t[ie]rra.
III Juan de villegas tres cauallos vna cotta vna cuera danta armadura de la tierra y de la cabeça dobladas.
II Pedro de vargas dos cauallos vna cuera danta armaduras de la t[ie]rra y de la cab[ez]a.
I R[odrig]o de paz vn cauallo armas de la t[ie]rra cuera danta.
II Sebastian de soto dos cauallos y vna cuera danta e armas de la t[ie]rra y de la cabeça.
II Fran[cis]co gorualan dos cauallos e armas de la t[ie]rra.
II Fran[cis]co de carauajal dos cauallos armas de la t[ie]rra.
III Lope de la cadena tres cauallos y armas de la t[ie]rra.
III Pedro de venabides tres cauallos armas de la t[ie]rra vna cuera danta armadura de cabeça y vna cota de malla.
II Xpoual de mayorga[50] dos cauallos vna cuera danta armas de la t[ie]rra.
II Juan de venabides dos cauallos vna cuera danta armas de la t[ie]rra.

[45] *Ibid.*, no. 1378. [46] See note 48. [47] Icaza, no. 1038.

[48] Possibly the Hernan Gómez de la Peña of Icaza, no. 1116. See note 46.

[49] Icaza, no. 867. The Captain Juan Jaramillo of his own narrative (Winship, pp. 222-41). He was not a captain at the time of this muster.

[50] Icaza, no. 1377.

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III Luys descobedo tres cauallos vna cota de malla y cuera danta e armas de cabeça de la t[ie]rra.
II Ju[an] de Ribadeneyra dos cauallos y vna cuera danta armas de la t[ie]rra.
II H[e]r[nan]do de valle[51] dos cauallos vna cuera danta armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Andres de miranda vn cauallo armas de la t[ie]rra.
III Antonio de Ribera tres cauallos y armas de la t[ie]rra cuera danta y armas de cabeça.
I G[a]r[ci]a R[odrígu]es[52] vn cauallo y armas de la t[ie]rra.
II Pedro de vrrel dos cauallos e armas de la t[ie]rra vna cuera danta.
I Xpoual perez davila vn cauallo y armas de la tierra.
I Luis de pigredo vn cau[all]o y armas de la t[ie]rra.
VII Juan perez de vergara siete cauallos y vna açemila y vna cuera y calças de malla y vn barbote y çelada y una manopla armas de la t[ie]rra dos arcabuzes y una ballesta.
IIII M[art]in de villarroya quatro cauallos vna cota de malla armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Juan de Beteta[53] vn cauallo y armas de la t[ie]rra.
II Andres de cobarruvias dos cauallos y armas de la t[ie]rra y cota de malla armaduras de cabeça e barbote.
II Miguel de entreambas aguas dos cauallos y mangas de malla armas de la tierra.
I Diego de puelles[54] vn cau[all]o armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Ju[an] de Bustamante vn cauallo y armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Ju[an] Vaca vn cau[all]o y armas de la t[ie]rra.
III Geronimo Ramires tres cauallos y armas de la t[ie]rra.
II Florian bermudez dos cauallos y armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Pe[d]ro aluarez vn cau[all]o y armas de la t[ie]rra.
II R[odrig]o de vera dos cauallos y armas de la t[ie]rra.
II Diego de çerbatos dos cauallos y vna cota de malla y caraguelles y armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Rosele vazquez de garauel vn cauallo y armas de la t[ie]rra.
III Juan franco de mentre tres cauallos vna cuera danta çaragueles y armas de la t[ie]rra.
II Juan pastor dos cauallos armas de la t[ie]rra y armaduras de cabeça y barbote.
III R[odrig]o de tamaran[55] tres cauallos y armas de la t[ie]rra y vna cuera danta y armaduras de cabeça.
I Pascual bernal de molina vn cauallo y vna cuera danta.
I Ju[an] R[odrigu]es de alanje[56] vn cauallo y armas de la t[ie]rra vna cuera danta.
II Fra[ncis]co de temiño[57] dos cauallos y armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Juan de gaztaca vn cau[all]o y armas de la t[ie]rra y vna cuera danta.
I Alonso esteuan de merida vn cau[all]o y armas de la t[ie]rra.

[51] *Ibid.*, no. 1183. [52] *Ibid.*, no. 1312.
[53] *Ibid.*, no. 1076. [54] *Ibid.*, no. 1340.
[55] *Ibid.*, no. 1320. [56] *Ibid.*, no. 1229.
[57] *Ibid.*, no. 1279.

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III Xpoual de quesada[58] tres cauallos y vn cota de malla y armas de la t[ie]rra.
II Lor[enz]o aluarez dos cauallos armas de la t[ie]rra y armaduras de cabeça y vna cuera danta.
V Domingo alonso çinco cauallos cota de malla armaduras de la t[ie]rra y de cabeça.
II Xpoual descobar[59] dos cauallos cota de malla armaduras de la t[ie]rra y de cabeça.
I Florian de maçuela vn cauallo y armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Pe[d]ro sanchez del varco davila vn cau[all]o y armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Fran[cis]co de alcantara vn cau[all]o y armas de la t[ie]rra.
III Juan lopez de sayago[60] tres cauallos armas de la t[ie]rra vna cuera danta.
I Fran[cis]co de padilla vn cauallo y armas de la t[ie]rra.
II Pe[d]ro m[ar]tin cauo dos cauallos y armas de la t[ie]rra.
III Di[eg]o de madrid[61] tres cauallos y armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Alonso de sayauedra vn cau[all]o y vna cuera danta y armas de la t[ie]rra y de cabeça.
II Ximon g[a]r[cí]a[62] dos cauallos vna cuera dantta y armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Fran[cis]co gomez vn cauallo y armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Luis de la chica vn cau[all]o y armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Diego nuñez de garueña vn cau[all]o y armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Hernando de alua vn cau[all]o e vna cuera danta y armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Xpoual g[a]r[cí]a vn cauallo y armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Diego del castillo vn cauallo y armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Juan R[odrígu]es[63] de avalos vn cauallo y armas de la t[ie]rra.
II Pedro de ortega dos cauallos y vna cuera danta armas de la t[ie]rra.
II Juan de Çespedes[64] dos cauallos y armas de la t[ie]rra.
II M[art]in sanchez dos cauallos y armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Fran[cis]co M[art]in vn cauallo y armas de la t[ie]rra.
II Juan Ximenez dos cauallos y armas de la t[ie]rra vna cuera danta.
I Pedro de venavente vn cau[all]o e cuera danta y armas de la t[ie]rra.
I R[odrig]o de trugillo vn cauallo cuera danta y armas de la t[ie]rra.
II Diego sanchez de fromista dos cauallos y armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Alonso de valençia vn cauallo y armas de la t[ie]rra.
II Bartholome serrano dos cauallos y armas de la t[ie]rra y vna cuera danta.
IIII Mathin de Castañeda quatro cauallos armaduras de cabeça con su barbote y armas de la tierra cota de malla cuera danta.
II Fran[cis]co de valdiui[es]o dos cauallos y armas de la t[ie]rra y vn caxco.

[58] "Que fué a Cibola por mandado de Vuestra Señoría Illustrísima, para pintar las cosas de la tierra . . ." These paintings would be priceless today. *Ibid.*, no. 1298.

[59] Possibly the same person as the petitioner in Icaza, no. 640.

[60] Icaza, no. 994, gives the name as Juan López de la Rosa of Sáyago.

[61] *Ibid.*, no. 620.

[62] Possibly the "Ximon Garcia" of Icaza, no. 791.

[63] *Ibid.*, no. 1229.

[64] *Ibid.*, no. 1379.

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VII Alonso sanchez y su hijo syete cauallos y armas de la t[ie]rra y cottas de malla.
II Juan M[art]in de la fuente del maestre dos cauallos e armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Xpoual hernandez moreno vn cauallo y armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Gonçalo vazquez vn cauallo ẏ armas de la tierra.
II Juan cordero dos cauallos y armas de la tierra.
I Pe[d]ro lopez de çibdad Real vn cauallo y armas de la t[ie]rra.
IIII Sancho ordoñez[65] quatro cauallos y cuera de malla armas de la t[ie]rra.
II Julian de samano dos cauallos vn corselete y cuera de malla y dos cueras de anta armas de la t[ie]rra y armaduras de cabeça.
II Alonso gonçalez dos cauallos y armas de la tierra.
II Hernan gomez de la peña[66] dos cauallos armas de la t[ie]rra y vn jubon fuerte.
I Pe[d]ro geronimo vn cauallo y lança.
I Pe[d]ro hernandez caluo cauallo e lança.
II Diego nuñez de mirandilla dos cauallos y vna cota de malla.
III Fran[cis]co Roxo loro[67] tres cauallos y armas de la t[ie]rra y armaduras de cabeça.
I Andres hernandez de enzina sola vn cau[all]o e armas de la t[ie]rra.
II Miguel de torres dos cauallos y armas de la tierra.
II Pedro pascual dos cauallos y cota de malla y armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Aorta ome portugues vn cauallo armas de la tierra.
I Diego de salamanca vn cauallo armas de la tierra.
I Gaspar aluarez portugues vn cauallo armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Xpoual gallego vn cauallo y armas de la tierra.
I Domingo Romero vn cauallo y cuera danta y armas de la t[ie]rra.
II Pedro nauarro dos cauallos cuera de malla armas de la t[ie]rra.
II Gonçalo de arjona dos cauallos y armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Juan fioz trompeta vn cauallo y vn coselete y vna cuera danta y armas de la t[ie]rra.
IIII Hernando bermejo[68] quatro cauallos y armas de la t[ie]rra y cuera danta.

Ynfanteria

Capitan Pablo de melgossa[69] absente por q[ue]no era allegado de Mex[i]co.
Lorenço girones vn arcabuz y armas de la t[ie]rra.
Fran[cis]co de espinosa vn arcabuz y armas de la t[ie]rra.
Alonso Ximenez[70] vn arcabuz armas de la t[ie]rra.
Juan de salamanca vn arcabuz y armas de la t[ie]rra.
Fran[cis]co de Godoy vna Rodela y armas de la t[ie]rra.
Juan de santouaya galaçiano vn arcabuz y armas de la t[ie]rra.
Juan de duero vn arcabuz espada y puñal y armas de la t[ie]rra.
Domingo Ruiz arcabuz espada armas de la t[ie]rra.

[65] *Ibid.*, no. 949. [66] *Ibid.*, no. 1116.
[67] Icaza, no. 1207, lists a Francisco rroxo from Sicily, who had been on Coronado's expedition.
[68] Winship, p. 188. [69] *Ibid.*, p. 12. [70] Icaza, no. 1133.

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Juan baruero vn arcabuz espada y puñal y armas de la t[ie]rra.
Diego diaz de sancto domingo espada y rrodela armas de la t[ie]rra.
Fran[cis]co de vargas espada y rrodela y armas de la t[ie]rra.
Roque aluarez vallesta espada y cuera danta.
R[odrig]o de gomez espada y puñal.
Juan françes espada y rrodela.
Hernan g[a]r[cí]a de llerena vna vallesta espada y puñal y armas de la t[ie]rra.
Juan m[art]in de la fuente del arco vna vallesta y cuera danta y armas de la t[ie]rra.
R[odrig]o aluarez de cafra vna vallesta y espada.
Alonso millero galiciano vna vallesta espada y armas de la t[ie]rra.
Andres m[art]in portugues vallesta espada y armas de la t[ie]rra.
Juan de vallarra espada y puñal y rrodela y armas de la t[ie]rra.
Antonio de laredo vallesta espada armas de la t[ie]rra.
Juan bermejo vallesta espada y puñal y armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Miguel sanchez vallesta espada cau[all]o y armas de la t[ie]rra.
Pe[d]ro M[art]in de la bermeja vallesta espada y puñal armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Juan morillo vn cauallo espada y rrodela armas de la t[ie]rra.
Alonso vos de rribadeo espada y rrodela y armas de la t[ie]rra.
Pedro de talavera espada y rrodela mangas de malla armas de la t[ie]rra.
M[art]in alonso destorga espada y armas de la t[ie]rra.
Pe[d]ro hernandez de guadalajara vn arcabuz espada y puñal.
M[art]in hernandez chillon vna cuera de anta espada y armas de la t[ie]rra.
Baltasar de çamora espada y rrodela y armas de la t[ie]rra.
Anton m[art]in vna ballesta vna espada armas de la t[ie]rra.
Diego de medina vna espada vna rrodela e vna ballesta armas de la t[ie]rra.
Galiveer vna cuera de anta espada e cosete.
Diego de candia vn arcabuz espada e rrodela.
Miguel hernandez espada e rrodela e armas de la t[ie]rra.
Jaco de brujas vna espada e arcabuz e vna Rodela.
Esteuan m[art]in vn arcabuz espada armas de la t[ie]rra.
II Miguel de fuente Ravia dos cavallos tres espadas e vna rodela.
Fran[cis]co lopez vna cuera danta vn montante espada e vn puñal.
I Fran[cis]co gorez vn cau[all]o vna espada e vna rrodela.
Gaspar Ro[drigue]s vna ballesta espada e armas de la t[ie]rra.
B[a]r[tolo]me de pedes[71] vna espada e vn puñal vna ballesta e armas de la t[ie]rra.
Juan vizcayno vna espada vn puñal e vna espada armas de la t[ie]rra.
Pedro de alcantara vna ballesta e vna espada armas de la t[ie]rra.
Goncalo Yañez vna rrodela espada e armas de la t[ie]rra.
I Alferez pedro Ramos vna arcabuz esp[a]da e vn cau[all]o.
Atanbor lazaro espada e armas de la t[ie]rra.
Anton rruiz vn arcabuz.

[71] "Cespedes" perhaps.

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Juan de çelada vn arcabuz.
Fran[cis]co de villa franca arcabuz armas de la t[ie]rra.
Juan de plazençia arcabuz armas de la t[ie]rra.
Fran[cis]co gomez vn arcabuz e vn caxco e armas de la t[ie]rra.
B[a]r[tolom]e S[ánch]es (S[aur]es) vna espada e vna rrodela.
Alonso hernandez armas de la t[ie]rra Rodela e espada.
Pedro de trugillo vn arcabuz armas de la t[ie]rra.
Miguel de torrez vn arcabuz espada armas de la t[ie]rra.
Alonso aluarez vn arcabuz e cuera de anta armas de la t[ie]rra.
Fran[cis]co m[art]in vna ballesta espada armas de la t[ie]rra.
G[a]r[cí]a de perea vna rrodela espada armas de la t[ie]rra.
Diego de mata espada e vna rrodela.
Graviel hernandez vna espada e vna rrodela e armas de la t[ie]rra.

DLII Son quin[ient]os e çinquenta e dos cavallos.

E esta d[ic]ha gente de cauallo lleuauan sus lancas e espadas de mas de las d[ic]has armas declaradas e otras armas.

Por manera q[ue] son dozientos e treynta e tantos de cau[all]o de mas y allende de los q[ue] van adelante en conpañya de los Religiosos y de los q[ue] se esperan de mex[i]co q[ue] van en este d[ic]ho viaje e jornada.

E ynfanteria son sesenta e dos [h]ombres con las d[ic]has armas de mas de otras armas de la t[ie]rra q[ue] se les dio.

E la de mas gente q[ue] va por la mar e por la t[ie]rra q[ue] el visorrey ymbio.

E asy vista mirada y esaminada la dicha gente por su señoria los d[ic]hos capitan general maestre de campo alferez mayor e capitanes y caualleros de suso nombrados e declarados paresçieron ante su s[eñorí]a e dixeron q[ue] por aquellos se an movido con buen zelo a yr en esta jornada en serviçio de dios y de su mag[estad] y en su real nombre trabajar e procurar en ella hazer lo que deuen a su real seruiçio como por manar dellos esta voluntad pidieron y suplicaron a su señoria yll[ustrísi]ma permita y mande q[ue] asy ellos como la demas gente hazan la solenidad de juramento q[ue] en tal caso e viaje se requiere p[ar]a q[ue] mejor e mas effectuosamente hagan lo que deuan como buenos vasallos y seruidores de su mag[estad] pues cunple asy a su real seru[ici]o.

E luego el d[ic]ho capitan general fran[cis]co vazq[ue]z de coronado juro por dios todopoderoso y por su santa madre y por vna cruz que alli estaua e palabras de los santos evangelios donde puso su mano derecha corporalmente en un libro missal en manos del R[everen]do padre fray fran[cis]co de vitoria proffeso de la orden de señor san fran[cis]co q[ue] como buen Xpiano vasallo e serui[d]or de su mag[estad] vsara el dicho cargo de capitan general q[ue] por su s[eñorí]a en nombre de su mag[estad] es nombrado p[ar]a la d[ic]ha jornada e t[end]rra e guardara el serui[ci]o de dios e de su mag[estad] y obedesçera y cunplira sus mandami-[ent]os e del d[ich]o señor visorrey en su real nombre como buen cau[aller]o hijodalo lo deue hazer a todo su saber y entender.

E luego los d[ic]hos maestre de canpo alferez e capitanes y

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caualleros e la de mas gente cada vno por sy juraron en forma de derecho segund e como de suso se contiene poniendo sus manos derechas en la dicha cruz e libro so cargo del qual prometieron de ser obidientes al dicho fran[cis]co vazq[ue]z de coronado su capitan general e a otro qual q[uie]r capitan general q[ue] su mag[estad]o el d[ic]ho señor visorrey en su real nombre mandare e que no dexaron sus capitanyas e vanderas syn su Real mando e haran todo aquello q[ue] son obligados a hazer como buenos capitanes e gente vassallos de su mag[estad] lo qual paso en presençia de su s[eñori]a e de los d[ic]hos caualleros e personas arriba dichas y en presençia de my el d[ic]ho juan de Cuebas escriuano maior de minas de sus mag[estade]s.

En fee de lo qual y de mandami[ent]o del d[ic]ho yll[ustrísi]mo s[eñ]or virrey de la nueua[e]spaña saq[ue] la presente nomyna del dicho alarde en la dicha çiudad de compostella veynte e siete dias del d[ic]ho mes de hebrero de mill e qu[inient]os e quarenta la qual va escripta en diez fojas de papel escriptas.

JUAN DE CUEBAS
RÚBRICA

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL HISTORY

The Problem of Historical Knowledge: An Answer to Relativism. By Maurice Mandelbaum. (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation. 1938. Pp. x, 340. $3.50.)

This volume is a critique of relativism in historiography and an argument for the thesis that history as it actually has been is known and is described in books. The first chapter is a statement of the relativist position as the author conceives it, with the views of Carl Becker and Charles Beard used as illustrations. The second chapter describes the doctrines of European relativists—Croce, Dilthey, and Mannheim—and is followed by an inquiry into the relativist presuppositions. Efforts to overcome relativism are set forth in an examination of the theories of Simmel, Rickert, Scheler, and Troelsch, treated as counterrelativists. Convinced that the four critics have not succeeded in disposing of relativism, Mr. Mandelbaum takes up the task himself. In carrying out this undertaking he inquires into judgments of fact and of values, renders a long opinion on relevance and causation in history, and comes out with the conclusion that historians do write objective history, that is, do describe the past as it actually was in fact.

The first question is: Has the author correctly stated the relativist position? He defines relativism as the view that "no historical work grasps the nature of the past (or present) immediately". Had he added: "and tells the whole truth about it or describes it in miniature as it actually was", and stopped there, Mr. Mandelbaum would have correctly stated the relativist position which he thinks he has destroyed. But he goes on to say: relativism holds that "whatever 'truth' a historical work contains is relative to the conditioning processes under which it arose and can only be understood with reference to those processes". He continues: "To use an example taken from Beard, the works of Ranke do not contain objective truth: whatever 'truth' they contain is limited by the psychological, sociological, and other conditions under which Ranke wrote."

Mr. Mandelbaum does not cite any lines from my writings to prove this statement, and if I have ever printed anything like that, then I cannot write the English language. Ranke's works do contain statements of objective truth, many truths. When Ranke says that some person was born on a certain day of a certain year he states a truth about an objective fact. I have never meant to say that whatever "truth" Ranke's works contain is "limited" by psychological, sociological, or other processes under which Ranke wrote.

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What I have tried to say so that it can be understood is that no historian can describe the past as it actually was and that every historian's work—that is, his selection of facts, his emphasis, his omissions, his organization, and his methods of presentation—bears a relation to his own personality and the age and circumstances in which he lives. This is relativism as I understand it, and it is not the conception put forth by Mr. Mandelbaum. I do not hold that historical "truth" is relative but that the facts chosen, the spirit, and the arrangement of every historical work are relative. Mr. Mandelbaum has missed the whole point of the business.

The second question is: What has Mr. Mandelbaum discovered? He says he has discovered that "the concrete structure and continuity to be found in every historical work is not the product of valuational judgments, but is implicit in the facts themselves." Again, "The relevance of one statement to another [in historical writings] depends upon causal factors which relate the events to which the statements refer. . . . The historian finds these connections and singles them out for others to see." Again, "the truth of a historical work consists in the truth of its statements" (p. 183). The relativists say that "valuational elements enter into the actual constitution of historical accounts. . . . However, if we examine historical works as they stand we find that this contention is false. For every historical fact is given in some specific context in which it leads on to some other fact." This would seem to mean that in the context facts select themselves as one leads to another. Query: Who supplies the context? Second query: In *whose* historical work does Mr. Mandelbaum find one fact inexorably leading to another? Third query: Will any historical writer maintain that he merely finds a fact in a context and that this fact leads him on to all the other facts seriatim? It is an interesting commentary that Mr. Mandelbaum does not cite a single historical work, not a page of written history, that does what he says historical works "as they now stand" actually do.

In short, Mr. Mandelbaum thinks that historians can and do tell "the" truth of history and that the relativists are all wrong in holding that this feat cannot be accomplished. As assistant professor of philosophy at Swarthmore he naturally takes the philosophic view of things, but he is supported in this contention by some historians of distinction. It would be helpful to have cited some work in history which tells "the" truth of any brief time-span in history, to say nothing of history. Does Rhodes or Channing or Bancroft? How many living historians would be willing to stand up in public and say that they can describe the American Revolution or the Civil War or Reconstruction as it actually was, in personalities, events, and circumstances, that is, tell the whole truth about it?

New Milford, Connecticut. CHARLES A. BEARD.

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The Gateway to History. By ALLAN NEVINS. (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company. 1938. Pp. vii, 412. $3.00.)

PROFESSOR Allan Nevins came over into the field of professional historical writing and teaching from the field of journalism. He has already made for himself a distinguished place among the academic practitioners of the historical craft. He occupies an important professorship in one of the outstanding American universities. Moreover, he has published a large number of substantial works since he became a professor of history. Indeed, he may fairly be said to have supplanted Albert Bushnell Hart as the most successful exemplar of mass production among American historians.

The fact that Professor Nevins has been able to win his way among historians and to be easily and graciously accepted by the most austere members of the guild has pleased the present reviewer no end. In my *History of Historical Writing* (pp. 369-70) it has been my agreeable duty to defend scholarly journalists against the slurs of certain haughty historians, with their ever-ready quip of "mere journalism". Since I entered journalism after a long apprenticeship in professional historical training and teaching, it was possible for me to do this with good taste, and Professor Nevins has always come easily to hand as cogent proof that journalists can compete successfully with the general run of the historical profession.

In spite of his professorial success, Professor Nevins could not have been entirely oblivious to the undercurrent of professional bias against the journalist, and it would not be unlikely that he has harbored sentiments compounded of inferiority and resentment. It would appear most logical and probable to regard the present book as a defiant, if amiable, vindication of his historical prowess. He throws down his gauntlet to the historians and demonstrates to his own satisfaction, as well as to the reviewer's, that he knows more about the general science and literature of history than many a professional historian. In other words, the present volume would appear to be Professor Nevins's final effort to demonstrate that he has "arrived" and "belongs".

The book opens with a defense of historical interest and historical writing, though the author regards history as more a matter of erudition and aesthetics than a pragmatic aid to social understanding and social planning. Then we have a rebuke to those who take too dogmatic or narrow-minded a view of historical interests. Next we find a survey of the materials of history, from primitive folklore to the elaborate collections of historical documents which have been compiled and published under official or quasi-official auspices. Chapters follow, analyzing unreliable historical documents, the garbling and falsification of historical materials, and the nature of historical evidence.

The author then argues for the value of considering history as a series of

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important problems rather than merely a superficial narrative of historical happenings. The importance of dominant ideas in shaping historical development is discussed, though in a way which makes one regret that Professor Nevins never had the opportunity to study under James Harvey Robinson. The relation of geography to human events and the course of history is thoughtfully considered, and this is followed by a not-too-sympathetic analysis of possible contributions of sociology to historical interpretation. But Professor Nevins is tolerant towards social history, if the latter is not too rigorously dominated by social theory. In dealing with the problem of biography and history, Professor Nevins, who has given much of his time to biographical writing, appears as a protagonist of the ample and forthright conventional biography, having little patience with the methods of Strachey, Bradford, and the so-called "new biography". There are some who may lift an eyebrow over Professor Nevins's belaboring of Emil Ludwig for his "tendency toward overproduction".

Professor Nevins comes nearest to real enthusiasm in his praise of the great literary historians from Macaulay to Parkman and Prescott. There seems no doubt whatever that he would prefer being a second Macaulay to standing in the shoes of Sidney Webb.

Professor Nevins concludes his work with some homilies on the reading of history, in which he earnestly recommends the reading entire of the great classic historians from Gibbon onward. This may be excellent advice, but if one were to take it too seriously, he would never have time to exhibit the historical productivity for which Professor Nevins is justly famous.

While conceding that this is a very valuable and exceedingly stimulating work, it is the impression of the reviewer that Professor Nevins has slightly overdone his apologia and vindication. No man could be quite so spontaneously and automatically learned. It is beyond human capacity to be both an adept in chasing a firetruck and easily at home with the most obscure medieval chronicler or the most esoteric Polish archivist. On the other hand, in some of his theoretical discussions Professor Nevins slumps badly at times because of his lack of command of better examples and more cogent literature.

The weakest portion of the book is unquestionably the bibliography. For the most part this is a hodge-podge, lacking alike completeness or high selective powers. Archaic and incompetent works are interspersed with the most recent and reliable books. Publishers and dates of publication are all too frequently lacking. Finally, it is not unfair to suggest that Professor Nevins may have been a little less than generous in his bibliographic exercises. Certain books upon which he seems to have leaned very heavily are not mentioned in the text, footnotes, or bibliography.

Auburn, New York. HARRY ELMER BARNES.

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Medieval and Historiographical Essays in Honor of James Westfall Thompson. Edited by JAMES LEA CATE and EUGENE N. ANDERSON. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1938. Pp. x, 499. $4.50.)

THE editors of this *Festschrift* have demonstrated a very important service which such a publication may render, namely, that of making available studies too long to appear as articles yet too short to be printed as monographs. Scholars interested in the Crusades as well as in imperial politics in the twelfth century have cause to be grateful to them for the publication of Einar Joranson's thorough study of the "Palestine Pilgrimage of Henry the Lion". Likewise much of the vividness and actual value of Florence Edler's important contribution to economic history would have been lost if she had been forced to condense her study. As it is, the reader can almost sense the clouds of dust which arise from the caravans of the Van der Molen as they ply between Antwerp and Italy in the early sixteenth century. These two studies occupy almost a third of the whole book and greatly enhance its value for students and teachers of medieval history.

The other fifteen contributions, though of varying length, more nearly conform to the pattern of articles for periodicals. Their range in time, place, and theme is so great that anyone less versatile than the brilliant teacher whom they seek to honor can scarcely hope to appraise them all adequately. He is harassed by the dilemma of praising immoderately those articles with whose subject matter he is least familiar or seeming to condemn with too faint praise those whose fields are better known to him. Perhaps, under the circumstances, his best course is to single out those articles which have impressed him most without disparagement to the others which may have equal merit.

Among the ten articles which deal with various aspects of medieval history there are two notable contributions to pre-Renaissance humanism. The article by F. J. Tschan on Bernvald of Hildesheim bears all the earmarks of a finished study. That of J. G. Ross on twelfth century interest in the antiquities of Rome opens up a relatively unexplored vista of classical study. J. L. Cate has applied all the refinements of critical scholarship to his study of church and market reform in the England of Henry III, an excellent contribution to economic history. The opening essay on St. Birgitta of Sweden by Conrad Bergendoff might well serve as a public lecture, entertaining as well as informing. There are two interesting contributions to medical history by L. C. MacKinney and Mary C. Welborn. Helen R. Bittermann's article on the struggle between secular and regular clergy suggests the introduction to a more extended study, as does Geneva Drinkwater's study of the origin of Subiaco. J. T. McNeill's article on the emergence of conciliarism raises the interesting question as to the relative importance of institutional development and the exigencies of a particular situation in shaping events.

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The five articles on historiography form a somewhat separate section of the book. Meinecke, Justus Möser, Kautsky, and Theodore Roosevelt are appraised as historians. S. R. Tompkins has approached historiography in a somewhat unusual fashion by tracing the ebb and flow of successive historical interpretation around a theme of unending interest, the Varangians in Russian history. E. N. Anderson has dared to penetrate the philosophical aura of Meinecke's *Ideengeschichte* and offer a definite challenge as to the utility of history. All of these articles make interesting reading.

There is in the closing pages a chronological list of the publications of James Westfall Thompson, to whom the volume is dedicated. The wide range of interest in time and theme displayed by the contributors is more than matched by that of the publications of the teacher. This record of nearly forty-five years of scholarly production is truly amazing, the more so as one discovers that the output has not diminished with age but is still apparently in full flow. Thompson has made a record seldom equaled by one who has discharged for so long the duties of a full-time teacher. To his work as a teacher the contributions of his students in this volume pay high tribute, nearly every one of them exemplifying the careful, painstaking, exact scholarship which he taught them as well as the enthusiasm for historical study with which he inspired them. It is a fitting tribute to his work both as scholar and teacher that the American Historical Association has placed his name upon its presidential roll.

University of Minnesota. A. C. Krey.

Social Thought from Lore to Science. By Harry Elmer Barnes, Lecturer, New School for Social Research, and Howard Becker, Professor of Sociology, University of Wisconsin, with the assistance of Émile Benoît-Smullyan and Others. Two volumes. (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company. 1938. Pp. xxiv, 793, lxxxiv; viii, 794-1178, lxxvii. $5.00; $4.50.)

This work is an outstanding contribution to the social sciences that will serve for many years to come as the standard textbook on the history of social thought. It combines in admirable fashion the main ingredients of a historical text—reliable information, pertinent criticism, and historical perspective. In these volumes the student will find not only clear and authoritative discussion of the contributions of social thinkers throughout the ages but also understanding of the background upon which theories originated and insight into the cross-fertilization of ideas and the influence they exerted.

The work begins with a discussion of the social thought of preliterate peoples and that of the ancient Far East and Near East. It ends with a discussion of the very latest contributions to the interpretation of social phenomena by contemporary writers of all countries. This extension of the historical scale at both ends is a novel departure from the usual procedure of textbook writers who begin their account with the Greeks and seldom carry

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it further than the end of the nineteenth century. This departure alone establishes the distinct superiority of this work over other histories of social thought. The inclusion of pre-Greek reflections on social life greatly improves the historical perspective of the student; while the bold venture of Barnes and Becker into the workshops of the social scientists of today informs him not only of the present status of social science but enables him to gauge the probable direction of future developments.

Another significant departure from the usual run of textbooks is the attempt to regard the history of social thought as a process rather than as a succession of topics. The authors view the development of social thought as part of the evolution of society "from the Sacred to the Secular" and link the social thought of each period with the general social and cultural situations with which it is related. This approach represents a mode of exposition called *wissenssoziologisch* and combines the history of social interpretations with a social interpretation of that history.

For a work of its size, *Social Thought from Lore to Science* has surprisingly few shortcomings. One feels at times that the authors were trying to accomplish too many things at the same time. In some respects the encyclopedic character of the work blurs the perception of its structural features. Less relevant material could have been excluded to make room for a more extensive treatment of significant contributions. There are also passages of straight reporting where one misses critical comment. The tracing of the antecedents of ideas is not always convincing, and some judgments, particularly of the works of contemporary writers, are of doubtful validity. These flaws, however, are insignificant in comparison with the monumental character of the work and the contribution it makes to the knowledge and interpretation of social thought.

Columbia University. THEODORE ABEL.

Political Institutions: A Preface. By EDWARD MCCHESNEY SAIT, Professor of Political Science, Pomona College. [The Century Political Science Series.] (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1938. Pp. vi, 548. $3.50.)

PROFESSOR Sait has written a fresh and vigorous volume on the state. That fact alone should enlist our interest and win our praise, for over most academic studies of the state lies the heavy hand of tradition. Professor Sait looks at political institutions with his own eyes and delivers himself with considerable freedom, being in fact scornful of most theories. He properly entitles his book a "preface", since it deals with such primary matters as the nature of the state, its origin, its sovereignty, its law, its constitution, and its distinctive forms. On some of these subjects he does much better than on others. Thus he is particularly lucid on the relation of law and the state but much less satisfactory on the problem of democracy. The reason for this unevenness may be that while the author makes excellent critical use of

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the older literature of politics he largely ignores the new conditions, new needs, and new functions that are so crucial for the interpretation of the changing state.

Within the limits of this review we cannot do more than give an illustration or two of an approach and a manner of treatment that are constantly provocative and frequently stimulating. At the outset Professor Sait proclaims a strongly behavioristic or, as he would prefer to call it, "realistic" position. A "realist" takes little stock in theories, in "excogitated ideas". Political institutions are not the product of political theories, of preconceived plans or conscious designs, but of innumerable minor adjustments and collisions between man and his environment.

It might be replied that many great political changes at least appear to have been inspired by the changing tides of doctrine or even by the faith or phantasy that animated a leader and his immediate following. To explain all systems of government, from medieval theocracy to present-day dictatorship, by resort to the principle of inevitable adaptation to environment is to make a dogmatic and quite needless assumption. Professor Sait's appeal to the "scientific approach" is not relevant here. Political theories are for the most part not explanations of facts at all. No institutions were ever built on a factual study of how men behave—if for no other reason than that every institution is a control of behavior. Politics is a system of controls depending on a system of values, and neither the controls nor the values are inductions or generalizations concerning how men actually behave. The problem of the scientific study of institutions has to be set in other terms altogether. It is perhaps significant that Professor Sait, with his disbelief in the dynamic role of doctrine, is apt to take refuge in the barren cyclical theory.

We hope that he will in any future edition rewrite his chapter (XIX) on "The Decline of Democracy"—not because he takes sides with those who think that democracy is collapsing but because the argument of this chapter is stated on a level far inferior to that of the rest of the book. An author who previously has been acutely critical now parades extensively, without a single hint of criticism, the pseudobiology of Alleyne Ireland and N. J. Lennes and Ralph Adams Cram. In place of a considered analysis of the state of democracy we are given a collection of odds and ends of alarmist opinion, ranging from Clemenceau to Senator Borah.

Apart from this chapter, the book as a whole is well calculated to stimulate a more intelligent study of politics.

Columbia University. ROBERT M. MACIVER.

Building the British Empire: To the End of the First Empire. By JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1938. Pp. xvi, 438. $3.50.)

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The British Empire. By CHARLES F. MULLETT, University of Missouri. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1938. Pp. x, 768. $3.75.)

MR. Adams, writing on the empire for the general reader in America, devotes much attention to England. His purpose in doing so is clear. He sees the empire as the product of the British race and character, its growth as the extension of British institutions as well as the expansion of British people and interests. Thus the first half of this first volume tells the history of England from earliest days to the Elizabethan era, and even the remainder devotes more attention to internal than to overseas developments, though the relative space accorded to the latter increases towards the close. Within this framework the selection of factual material is on the whole conventional, but there is usually a generous amount of interpretative comment that both enlivens the narrative and ensures to the general reader, however slight or distorted his background of historical knowledge may be, a sympathetic as well as a significant introduction to the subject. Repeatedly the author stresses the importance of habits of mind, such as the English preference for discussion and compromise of immediate disputes rather than fighting and generalizing. He deems "political instinct" more important than frontiers in establishing democracy among British settlers in new lands. His easy style is generally lucid despite the condensation of the narrative, but there are some inexplicable errors of fact on important matters. For example, it is alleged that Magna Carta guaranteed the right of jury trial to "freemen", and "livery and maintenance" are incorrectly defined. There is confusion in dealing with the Proclamation of 1763 and the Quebec Act, especially with their territorial provisions concerning the west. The interview between Richard II and Wat Tyler "exemplified in dramatic fashion the English way of talking things over" (in the sense intended by the author) only if one ignores the prompt sequel.

Mr. Mullett's textbook opens with a bird's-eye view of the empire today and then devotes about a third of its space to the first empire. The importance of naval power and international rivalries in relation to imperial growth are particularly well brought out, besides the political and economic aspects of colonial expansion and mercantile policy. A pertinent chapter discusses the manifold effects of this expansion upon English society in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Then, after an excellent general chapter on "Colonial Policy and Ideas since 1815", the treatment becomes less closely articulated as developments in each part of the empire are taken up in turn for the years before responsible government and again in rotation for the later period, the whole being concluded by a brief general chapter. In the development of the second empire more recognition might have been given to the needs of defense and to elements of genuine humanitarianism as factors in influencing attitudes and policies both in Britain and in some of the colonies.

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The comprehensiveness of the author's intention is commendable, yet so much local detail is sometimes included as to result in a condensation of statement that tends to be cryptic, ambiguous, and occasionally erroneous. This is particularly true in the case of Canada, which is treated at more length than other Dominions. Misleading statements are not always insignificant. The loss of the British tariff preference to Canadian wheat was a consequence of the repeal of the corn laws, not of the navigation acts. The Canadian government has not assumed control over "most Canadian railroads"; the Canadian Pacific, with mileage almost equal to that of the Canadian National, is still in private hands. To say that "before 1867 virtually everything cultural in what is now Canada had a French flavor" is not only generally misleading; it completely overlooks Nova Scotia's cultural precocity before that time. Lists of suggested readings appended to the chapters are up to date and adequate. The index is disappointingly slight. The map of Canada and Newfoundland fails to show the Quebec-Labrador boundary as settled in 1927 by the Privy Council.

Queen's University. REGINALD G. TROTTER.

ANCIENT HISTORY

Excavations at Olynthus. Part VIII, *The Hellenic House: A Study of the Houses found at Olynthus with a Detailed Account of those excavated in 1931 and 1934.* By DAVID M. ROBINSON and J. WALTER GRAHAM. Part IX, *The Chalcidic Mint and the Excavation Coins found in 1928-1934.* By DAVID M. ROBINSON and PAUL AUGUSTUS CLEMENT. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1938. Pp. xxi, 370; xxxi, 413. Plates 110; 36. $15.00 each.)

WHAT Pompeii is to ancient Italy, Olynthus is becoming to classical Greece: a Pompeii less well preserved but better excavated—like Pompeii, destroyed all (or nearly all) at one time (348 B.C.) and, like Pompeii again, an excavation largely of private houses with finds important for social and economic history. Thus far two residential districts have been found: on the South Hill a continuous settlement from *ca.* 1000 B.C., poorly housed and never containing over two thousand people; on the North Hill some 235 large houses arranged in blocks laid out *ca.* 430 B.C.

The Hellenic House, which is concerned with the North Hill, is first of all a study of city planning. No logic-bitten visionary could have gone further than the Olynthians. Every house was to be sixty feet square. The houses were to be built in blocks, each of ten houses arranged in two rows of five houses each. No land was wasted on "grounds" around the houses; all land not built on was streets, straight streets intersecting at right angles at the corners of every block. To get the winter sun in the court, all houses faced

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south. Actually this whole scheme was but slightly modified in execution.

Strict regularity ended with the city plan. Instinctively blending logic, or conformity to type, with individuality, the Olynthians, like good Greeks, planned the interiors of their houses each as he pleased. Sixty-five houses have been excavated. No two are precisely alike in plan, though all have courts on the south side: courts with porticoes, the north portico being prolonged into a hall (the whole portico-hall was known as the *pastas*), which is the feature characteristic of Olynthian houses.

It is a curious fact that the Greek house of the classical period has been known hitherto only through a few sporadic, half-unintelligible examples, which hardly vivified the literary references. Now we know the kind of dwelling inhabited by the middle-class friends of Plato, Xenophon, Demosthenes: the homes of those who could provide hoplite equipment or even a horse for themselves—the oligarchs if there were a fairly large oligarchy. One of them bought a typical house for 5300 drachmae.

The entrance was through a vestibule leading to a heavy wooden door studded with big bronze nails. In the court stood an altar to Zeus Herkeios. Formal dinners were held in the best room, the only room with an anteroom so planned as to ensure privacy. The couches were ranged along the sides, facing a floor often paved with mosaic at once bold and delicate—the classical vase painting now first known to us in mosaic form. North of the *pastas* was a suite of living rooms and a large kitchen with a great flue instead of a chimney; the bathroom, for heat, was off the kitchen, next to the flue. A storeroom and sometimes a shop completed the ground floor; upstairs were bedchambers. There would be space, I should think, for not more than three slaves—household servants; nothing as pretentious as a special doorman was provided for. No separated suite for the women has been found; the rooms where the no less than 2600 loom weights have been discovered suggest that the women were not shut upstairs. Animals were rarely stabled in the house. Contrary to previous belief, there were windows in the outer walls. Water was piped to public fountains from several miles away. Streets were paved only where they sloped. Drainage was arranged merely to protect the adobe walls of houses; Greek senses were stronger in every way than ours. The walls of rooms were white, yellow, and especially red: color is different in the Mediterranean glare.

As generally in Greece, foundations were stone; roofs, tiles on wooden rafters; pillars, wooden with stone capitals nicely profiled; and walls, sun-dried mud-brick, *i.e.*, adobe. Adobe is *not* a sorry material; it is durable when protected from rain, soundproof, highly resistant to weight and to temperature changes, and almost as retentive of nails as soft wood.

This volume grew out of a dissertation by Dr. Graham. The text is meticulous, generally reasonable, and clear; a full apparatus of tables, indexes, and plates displays and orders the crowd of details.

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The Chalcidic Mint is monumental. From every known relevant coin there is constructed, by an exhaustive technique, the chronology of the mint at Olynthus coining for "the Chalcidians" (whose organization is now dated more securely from 432 B.C.) in the successive periods without (432-379) and with (379-348) the magistrate's name. In the first half of the fourth century Olynthus apparently minted for the Bottiaeans also. In 348 Philip II's soldiers pulled down most of the houses. Ferguson had urged (*Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, XXXIX, 154-55) that somewhere an Olynthus existed after 348; now a few coins (75 out of the total 3757) show that some houses in the northwest corner of the North Hill were inhabited until 316, when Cassander moved "the surviving Olynthians, who were not a few" to help found Cassandria (p. 370; Diodorus, XIX, 52; *The Hellenic House*, pp. 9-17); and almost half of the 216 coins found at Olynthus's seaport, Mecyberna, date in the period 348-316. No considerable indication of habitation after 316 has appeared at Olynthus or Mecyberna. Hence the post-316 Olynthus, known only from a few citizens' names, is still to seek.

That is no criticism of Professor Robinson's rich excavation. He has in fact given us a clear image of about half a classical city. This is more than we ever had before. It is to be hoped that excavations will not cease until we have a clear image of Olynthus in its entirety. The parts will have their fullest meaning only when they can be related to the whole.

Harvard University. STERLING DOW.

Demosthenes: The Origin and Growth of his Policy. By WERNER JAEGER. [Sather Classical Lectures.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1938. Pp. x, 273. $2.50.)

THIS work is a successful attempt to reverse the unfavorable judgment which, for varying reasons, has prevailed among German writers of ancient history for about a century. The attacks on Demosthenes began at a time when German patriots were striving for the unification of Germany under the leadership of Prussia. Viewing ancient history in the mirror of their own time, the historians among them decided that Macedon was the Prussia of the Greek world, predestined to achieve its unity. The statesman who led the struggle against Macedonian supremacy appeared to them, therefore, as little better than the *Particularisten* in southern Germany, who opposed the realization of the great national aim for what seemed to their critics to be selfish dynastic reasons.

Gradually, however, as it came to be realized that there was no such close analogy between fourth century Greece and nineteenth century Germany, different reasons were given for the depreciation of Demosthenes's policy. J. Beloch, for instance, an outstanding representative of the positivistic conception of history, in the introduction to his *Griechische Geschichte* vehemently impugns the view that it is great men who make history. Historical

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change, in his opinion, is brought about through the subconscious tendencies of the anonymous masses. A man, therefore, who opposed the general tendency of his age, which in the case of Demosthenes led from the Hellenic city-state to Hellenistic monarchy, appeared to him somewhat lacking in political insight.

With most of the present-day historians in Germany it is again the great man, the hero, the leader, who makes history, and the judgment on the opponents of the man of destiny, in Demosthenes's case Philip of Macedon, has become still harsher—curiously enough, since the hero would have little opportunity of displaying his heroism if there were nobody to resist him.

There are more serious objections, however, to this view. After the event it is easy to say that it would have been wiser to submit to a rising power than to bring misery upon one's country by stirring it up to a resistance which finally turned out to be futile. But in the past, at least, he would have been considered as a poor patriot and politician who advised his fellow countrymen to submit to a newly rising power instead of warning them to prevent its growth before it became really dangerous, as Demosthenes did. And even when a stage is reached at which resistance becomes almost hopeless, the fact and the knowledge that there have been men who chose to perish rather than fail to revive the struggle for freedom whenever there was the slightest chance to do so is no less important an element in shaping the life of future generations than victory and conquest, though the effects of the latter may be more immediately visible and more conspicuous. Jaeger's book does not deal with this aspect of Demosthenes's later life, as does Clemenceau, who praises Demosthenes as a martyr for freedom and civilization. Jaeger deals with the statesman who tried to save his country while there was still a fair chance of doing so.

He begins with an admirable analysis of the political situation as it developed from the beginning of the fourth century and of Demosthenes's personal development up to the time when he first appeared on the political stage. This provides the reader with the means of looking at things as they must have appeared when they happened. Having thus eliminated the false wisdom based on knowledge so easily acquired after events, Jaeger shows that Demosthenes was a wiser statesman than his opponents, but that the Athenians did not follow his advice when success would have been almost certain, and that when they finally acknowledged that he had been right, the chance of success was spoiled through the lack of sufficient earlier preparations and the interference of other political leaders.

Quite appropriately, Jaeger's work practically ends with the battle of Chaeronea, following which the struggle for independence became almost hopeless. The few pages that are devoted to later events are concerned not so much with Demosthenes's last struggle against overwhelming odds as with the proof that the hopes of his opponents did not come true—that

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Greece was not unified under Macedonian hegemony, and that even in the light of later developments the Demosthenes of 354-338 appears to have been the wiser statesman.

Larchmont, New York. K. v. FRITZ.

Stadt und Herrscher des Hellenismus in Ihren Staats- und Völkerrechtlichen Beziehungen. Von ALFRED HEUSS. [Klio Beiheft.] (Leipzig: Dieterich. 1937. Pp. xi, 273. 19.25 M.)

THE present work adds one more to the number of important studies devoted by its author to the difficult border zone in which international relations and empire building overlap. In an attempt to discover the legal basis, if any, of the control of Greek cities by Hellenistic kings the various instruments and manifestations of power are examined, but with results that are consistently negative. The cities were not regularly under the control of royal governors, and the general character of their government and their theoretical freedom were affected neither by the presence of garrisons, nor by the sporadic intervention of royal representatives in the civil administration, nor by the tenure of office within the state by kings or their appointees, nor by the presence of royal officials—rarely found—standing outside and alongside of the regular city government, nor by the activity of kings in connection with appointment of foreign judges invited to cities, nor by the payment of tribute to, or the collection of indirect taxes for, the royal government. Though kings frequently suggested measures to be adopted by cities, the suggestions were generally given in the form of advice, and the final validating authority was always the decree of the community itself. The study of interstate relations leads to a similar conclusion. Treaties were not used to justify the supremacy of the kings, and even treaties of alliance were rare; the decrees of *asylia* suggest complete independence; neither leagues nor deification of rulers served to legitimatize the supremacy of kings. The upshot is that there was no extensively used legal justification for subordination, that the cities theoretically were free, and that the kings had little to fall back on except the old method of co-operating with political parties friendly to themselves. Important in this connection was the proclamation and defense of freedom used particularly by Antigonus Monophthalmus.

Every reader will be impressed with the meticulous care and frankness with which the complicated material is handled, though it is inevitable that specialists in various fields will question details or feel that some material has been overlooked or not given due weight. The present reviewer, while inclined to accept the identification of the *diagrammata* mentioned in connection with the activity of foreign judges in cities as the letters of kings on the subject of the appointment of judges (pp. 72-84), is doubtful about the similar explanation of *diagramma* in Cretan inscriptions (pp. 84-86, but *cf.* Mijnsbrugge, *The Cretan Koinon,* ch. IV). He also disagrees with some de-

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tails in the interpretation of the leagues of the period and believes that the importance of the *symmachy* has been underrated. This, however, does not affect the general conclusion, for the *symmachy* definitely was based on the theoretical independence of its members. In general, the cumulative effect of the evidence is convincing. It is too early to pass final judgment on Heuss's theory, but his study certainly marks a great advance and will remain an important contribution.

The University of Chicago. JAKOB A. O. LARSEN.

The Herods of Judaea. By A. H. M. JONES, Fellow of All Souls College. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. xii, 271. $3.50.)

MR. Jones published in 1937 an extensive, well-documented, and useful study entitled *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces.* The present work, which is of a more popular character, seeks to present "a picture of the political, economic, and religious life of the Jewish people" in the time of the Herods. The story is told in sober and dignified language. There are maps, genealogical tables, an index, and several full-page illustrations, but there are no notes, citations, critique of sources, bibliography, or references to other scholars and their often divergent views. The general reader is not supposed to be interested in such things, and to some extent this assumption is probably correct. Something may be said in favor of relegating footnotes to an appendix, but to leave them out altogether does not seem advisable.

The majority of those who have heard of Herod the Great know him only as the monster depicted in Matth. II. Without any further explanation, this gruesome tale is apparently dismissed as a legend (p. 155). Yet "The Massacre of the Innocents" by Matteo di Giovanni is used as a frontispiece. Some account of the searching recent studies of Josephus as a historian and the nature of his sources would have been helpful. In the case of the first Herod even a writer more careful and impartial than Josephus would have found it difficult to produce a consistent and wholly reliable sketch from such material as he had at his disposal. If the excerpts from Nicolaus of Damascus show a bias in favor of the king, it is natural that there should have been much distortion of facts and malicious gossip in the accounts derived from circles friendly to the deposed dynasty, resentful of the dependence on Rome, and hostile to Hellenism. The manner in which Mr. Jones deals with the remarkable administrative qualities of Herod I and his numerous public works and benefactions is no more generous than just. Especially valuable is his discussion of the revenues of the kingdom.

The story of Salome's dance before Herod Antipas, with all its novelistic features, is accepted as historical. In describing the burlesque on Agrippa I in Alexandria Mr. Jones says that the crowd mocked Carabas, dressed up as a king, with the cry "Marein, Marein (Syriac for 'my lord')" (p. 192). There is no such reading in Philo's treatise *In Flaccum,* sec. 39, where the incident

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is recorded, and it would not be Syriac for "my lord". The shout of the mob was no doubt "Mari", which means "my lord". It was probably an imitation of the greeting given to the king by his countrymen.

It may well be believed, as the author suggests, that the Jews would have been saved from many bitter sufferings if they had adopted more fully the Hellenistic culture which Herod I and Agrippa I attempted to foster among them, abandoned some of their ancestral customs, and refrained from rebellion against Rome. But the moral value of loyalty to conviction, horror of degrading pagan customs, and willingness to suffer for the sake of righteousness must not be overlooked.

One could wish that an author so familiar with the field, generally fair in his judgment, and capable of good writing had adhered less persistently to his deliberate plan not to include in his picture certain vital features. Men like Hillel, Gamaliel, and Johanan ben Zakkai are not referred to at all. Yet the tendencies they represent go far to explain the remarkable survival of Judaism, without a sacrificial system, a temple cult, or a national state. John the Baptist, Jesus, and Paul receive only casual mention. Yet even if it is freely granted that they were little known to the bulk of their contemporaries and that our knowledge of them is fragmentary and uncertain, it can scarcely be questioned that the spiritual forces they released were important manifestations of the religious life of the Jewish people in the epoch of the Herods.

Cornell University. NATHANIEL SCHMIDT.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Studies in Manorial History. By ADA ELIZABETH LEVETT. Edited by H. M. Cam, Fellow and Lecturer of Girton College, Cambridge, M. Coate, Fellow and Tutor of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, L. S. Sutherland, Fellow and Tutor of Somerville College, Oxford. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. xviii, 404. $8.50.)

IT is fortunate for students of English manorial history that the publication of Professor Levett's later work proved possible. It is fortunate, too, even if it renews for her friends the sharp consciousness of loss, that this posthumous volume conveys real indications of her distinction as a person and as a writer. Her able editors, Miss Cam, Miss Coate, and Miss Sutherland, have been obliged sometimes to supplement and explain where the original notes were scanty and the subject not worked out, but such additions are always indicated and do not affect the main theme. It is of interest to know that amongst those first undertaking this edition was Miss M. V. Clarke, whose untimely death has caused another sad loss to historical scholarship.

The volume contains a delightful portrait, a short preface by Miss Levett's

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sister, and an appreciative memoir by Miss E. M. Jamison. Here are shown the ineradicable influence of "the immemorial antiquity of the Sussex countryside" on Miss Levett's later predilections, and the profitable years in Oxford, where she took a first in the Honour School of Modern History. She then spent a year at the École des Chartes and traveled abroad extensively at various times thereafter, but her main interests remained in Oxford, at St. Hilda's, until she became a professor in the University of London in 1929. Her comment on the promotion is characteristic of her broad interests: "I am well content with the fate which has converted me from a Reader in Economic History to a Professor of mere History."

Professor Levett's own work as printed in this volume consists first of her inaugural lecture, where there is perhaps a pleasant reminiscence of Stubbs's famous inaugural. In it she expresses her concept of the indivisibility of history and also her belief, very refreshing in these utilitarian days, that history is an art and hence needs no justification—"it is an art, an inheritance, an end in itself. . . . I care nothing if history is proved to be entirely useless." In an appreciation of Vinogradoff she speaks of his power of making students understand the part played by agrarian history in universal history and in comparative jurisprudence. His influence in economic interpretations is seen clearly in her work.

The main thesis of her later studies, especially of the notes and essays here printed on the conditions in St. Alban's manors, is that side by side with the lord's will and the custom of the manor there must also be considered in the development of agrarian life the work of administrative councils, and that these may be found in all great monastic, episcopal, and secular estates, even as early in some cases as the thirteenth century. This is an important thesis which must be carried further by her students, as Miss Page has done in her admirable work on Crowland Abbey, and by others interested in the manor. The notes on St. Alban's, in their various stages of completion, illustrate, too, her other interests. They continue, for example, her studies of the effects of the Black Death, concerning which she gives figures and concrete examples. Her well-known article on the financial organization of the manor, first published in the *Economic History Review,* is conveniently reprinted here, together with her article contributed to the *Mélanges* dedicated to M. Ferdinand Lot in 1925. The volume contains also valuable transcripts of documentary material, of court books, extents, and the like.

With all its incompleteness and somewhat varied content, it is a volume which we could ill afford to miss and which more than ever makes us regret the untimely cessation of writing so keen, so delicate, so distinguished in its reliance on fact and its power of reflection. "May she rest from her labors for her works will follow her."

Mount Holyoke College. N. Neilson.

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Saint Dominique: L'idée, l'homme, et l'oeuvre. Par PIERRE MANDONNET, O. P. Tome I, *Étapes.* Augmenté de notes et d'études critiques par M. H. Vicaire. Tome II, *Perspectives.* Augmenté de notes et d'études critiques par M. H. Vicaire et R. Ladner. (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer et Cie. 1937. Pp. 280; 321. 60 fr.)

THIS book embodies the results of a vast deal of labor and thought on the part of its authors regarding Dominican origins, the activities of the first members of the Order of Preachers, their legislation and liturgy, the position taken by the papacy concerning some of the problems of the period, and other more or less closely related topics. The figure of St. Dominic appears and reappears time and again; yet nothing is said of his early life and training, of his years as a canon of Osma, and little enough of the man apart from his work. Possibly this was unavoidable. It may well be that Dominic lives only in the society called after his name; at any rate, amid much lucid exposition of the importance of his labors, the reader will find nothing of that grace and beauty that add so potent a spell to the story of Dominic's contemporary, Francis of Assisi.

The second volume opens with an account of the general disregard of preaching in the medieval church and of the steps taken toward remedying the unfortunate consequences of this neglect. This leads naturally to a consideration of the need of sound learning, to the thesis that an *Ordo praedicatorum* must be an *Ordo doctorum,* and to some account of the emphasis on study among the Dominicans. The chief contribution to knowledge in the entire work is, in my judgment, the study of the Rule of St. Augustine, in which the author controverts the almost universally accepted view that the rule is merely a letter written for the guidance of some nuns at Hippo and restores what he believes to be the rule itself. This is followed by three chapters on the Augustinian Rule of St. Dominic and an essay on the Institutes of the Preachers, an essay directed primarily to those who, like its author, are living the religious life *secundum Regulam Beati Augustini et Institutiones Fratrum Praedicatorum.*

To all who are interested in the thought and expression of the later Middle Ages this work should prove to be of considerable value. It is interrupted, or perhaps reinforced, with specialized studies, some of which, of course, have little appeal to those of us who are not associated with the Dominican family; and there are included articles by the late Fr. Mandonnet which have already appeared in print. Here and there the information is too compact and cries aloud for amplification; and some pages are little other than lists of names. Especially is this the case with the nine brief chapters which, under the general heading "Activity of the Preachers", treat in forty-three pages such topics as their preaching, teaching, and writing, their influence on ecclesiastical and civil society, their liturgical use, and the archi-

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tecture of their churches. Although Mandonnet and the writers who collaborated in this book, who seemingly owe much of their interest and their training to him, may have settled some of the questions concerned with the origins and early history of the Order of Preachers, this can hardly be regarded as final and definitive. It is, rather, a foundation well and truly laid, on which, it is to be hoped, other scholars will erect a worthy superstructure of Dominican studies.

Washington and Jefferson College. ALFRED H. SWEET.

The Constitutional History of Medieval England from the English Settlement to 1485. By J. E. A. JOLLIFFE, Fellow of Keble College, Oxford, Lecturer in Medieval English History in the University of Oxford. (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1937. Pp. vii, 524. $5.00.)

THE brief foreword of this book gives no hint of the class of readers intended to be reached. Thus the task of the reviewer is hard. The title leads him to expect a rounded treatment of English constitutional history to 1485, as the word constitutional has usually been understood. But he finds that the author expands what he knows best or what interests him without a sustained attempt at a balanced treatment. Some sections are learned monographs, and there is not much expository or carrying-on power to help the beginning or partially trained student; yet the translation of Latin citations in the footnotes may indicate that such readers were in mind, although there is little consistency in this translating, and it wanes as the book progresses. There is no sufficient introduction to the literature of the subject. The reader learns (with a few notable exceptions) little of the discussions and divergent positions of important scholars. Naturally, the results of scholarship are here —Stubbs, Tout, Round, Stenton, and the author's own research are prominent—but the curious impression is given that more of the work than seems possible comes *de novo* straight from the sources, though there is a special disclaimer of personal conclusions for the period 1377-1485. The book is weakened throughout by a neglect of chronicles, which are needed to keep abreast of thought as also for their factual content. Here it would have been well to follow Stubbs, Mr. Jolliffe's great exemplar. The too brief "bibliographical note" of four pages is even harder to understand in matters of inclusion and exclusion than such lists usually are; and books are included whose subject matter (not to mention the authors' conclusions) is wholly or largely untouched in the text.

In writing governmental history there is no scheme of arrangement that approaches satisfaction. Chronology and logic fight a dubious battle. There are here five main time divisions, of which the first two, dividing at Alfred, are on the Anglo-Saxon period, 28 per cent of the whole. The last three are 1066-1272, 1272-1377, and 1377-1485. Each of these five is divided into two

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rather general topical divisions, of which the first relates more to the localities and the second to the central organization. There is the inevitable overlapping.

The more original ideas fall in the earlier part of the work. There is a skillful statement of how kinship blended with lordship and an analysis of the varying lordships in the passing centuries. The author's own research (*England before Feudalism,* 1933) has supplied special knowledge of the local systems before the conquering shire and hundred regime of the tenth century, and much new study of dooms and charters leads him to the conclusion that almost everything of value "in the freedom and integrity of racial institutions was carried forward to the account of the English state". There is something new on the *wite,* on compurgation, on the principle of peers in jurisdiction, and "default" is noted in Anglo-Saxon procedure. No private jurisdiction over free men is found before the tenth century and little before the eleventh. There is all a specialist's knowledge of bookland (see the author's "English Book-right", *Eng. Hist. Rev.,* Vol. L). A belief in absolute right of property, real as well as personal, in Anglo-Saxon times is reached, and there is much about wills (through some mistake Dorothy Whitelock's *Anglo-Saxon Wills* is referred to as by "L. Whitelock"). In touching the old problem of the hundred there is no going into the hazy antiquities of the race, military or pastoral. The whole thing started with semivoluntary *frithgilds* in response to tenth century royal edicts respecting thieves, hue and cry, and keeping the peace, those mighty kings turning lynch law into hundred courts which reached maturity, with oath and ordeal, under Edgar. It is also believed that early in that century there was a burghal period or phase of administration which appears as an interlude during the reconquest of the *Danelagh*. The old divinity and the new of Anglo-Saxon kingship are discussed, and an excellent study of the king's peace clears some of the obscurity of the other peaces. It is believed that the king's peace had gone far towards being national before the Norman Conquest and that feudal warfare was later limited not solely because the kings were strong but because feudalism was brought into a country which did not tolerate war between subjects. There is little hint of the Roman and Teutonic sources of Frankish institutions, and a knowledge of Continental feudalism is assumed. The fief, especially its contractual feature, appears as the one great institution which the Conquest brought. The Conqueror is heir to the whole administration of the Confessor, and before the Conquest are found the beginnings of practically all the important governmental features (even of a common law), with the single exception of the Continental fief and all that institutionally derived from it. The author's leading text, that the English communities were without Roman influence, were free at the start, and were "primarily communities of law", rings through the book; for a thousand years there was "supremacy of law and the function of the community to declare, and, if

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necessary, change it". The summary of conditions on the eve of the Conquest, notably the legalistic basis of government, appears to be the high point in the whole book.

Mr. Jolliffe seems to deny that the Norman kings legislated. He draws a hard line at 1154 and asserts that legislation began with Henry II's assizes—a strained classification for these instructions to justices, albeit they entered so creatively into the unwritten common law. The carry-over from Henry I is minimized, and that from Geoffrey of Anjou's short but pregnant rule of Normandy, which Haskins estimated so highly, is omitted. It is Stenton's point of view that the dark age was the century this side of the Conquest and not "beyond", as was Maitland's; and Jolliffe follows Stenton undeviatingly. Thus we read nothing of the precursors of Henry's assizes and little of the background of his juries. Indeed the whole jury history and its relations to self-government are slighted. There is nothing of that critical evolution of juries into judges of fact or the spread of juries through voluntary choice of litigants. And the people's public training for all later time through both judicial and nonjudicial juries finds no place. The background of Magna Carta receives little attention, and, while feudal contract is emphasized, an important omission is that of previous charter history. In fact the rising against Longchamps in 1191 is presented as almost the sole episode leading to the Charter. Only a few of the Charter articles are mentioned. As to Article 61, clumsy and unsuccessful as it was, it is a hard saying that there was "no formal scheme of administrative control embodied in the Charter" and that the twenty-five barons and the four barons "in no way anticipated the conciliar committees of later kings". Also it is hard to see how the Charter of 1216 "was substantially the same as that of 1215". All the confirmations of the charters are taken lightly—"the same comedy was played . . . which no longer convinced anyone". There is a kind of contempt for "time-worn" things: charter confirmations, attempts to control the king's ministers, and the like. "Time-worn" seems almost to define the things oftenest mentioned in earlier books. The case against Richard II is "time-worn"—freedom of the courts and sanctity of the law. "Medievalism of outlook" the author calls it. It seems modern or, rather, timeless. As soon as the author is on the ground of Tout's volumes enthusiasm appears, and treatment of the administrative departments is out of proportion. Wardrobe and chamber are favorites, and dreary personal detail comes into the account. For this there is omission or slighting of many things which lie back of England's achievement in political democracy and her place in the world today. With all praise for Tout's feat in writing the great *Chapters* on a neglected side of the constitution and especially in giving the civil service its place in history, yet it was a right instinct which impelled earlier writers to seek first limited monarchy, the court system, the common law, and parliament.

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Within the space allotted to this review it is possible to specify only a few matters that have been omitted or neglected. There is nothing of the origin of representation and election, of the king's turning from appointment by officials to a compulsory local choice, and scarcely any account of elections to parliament in either county or borough. A perfunctory account of the origin and development of the common-law courts covers little over a page, and there is more space for the rivalries of the Percies and Nevilles than for the common law. The relations between church and state are almost wholly left out. The books of Glanvill and Bracton and the Dialogue concerning the Exchequer find no place. In connection with the royal summons of November, 1213, there is no discussion of the king's motives and methods in concentration of representatives, and 1154 is given as the date of its beginning (see *Am. Hist. Rev.,* XIX, 735-50). We find almost nothing of the decline of the shire and hundred courts and no mention of courts leet, baron, and customary; no discussion of the statutes *De donis, Quia emptores,* and *Mortmain* and their effect on land law; no consecutive account of the genesis of justices of the peace and no mention of Miss Putnam's fundamental work anent them; no inclusion of the rise of civil and criminal equity or comparison with the equity of the early common law, the history of the court of chancery being only incidentally mentioned, and nothing of its special jurisdiction in the field of trusts and uses—and the same with respect to the council's developing star chamber jurisdiction. A notable omission is the discussion in political theory at the time of the New Ordinances to be found in *Chronicles of Edward I and II,* which in the abstract notion of the crown, method of dealing with a recalcitrant king, and full recognition of the consequences of royal control of the courts left little to be added by the thinkers and actors of the Puritan Revolution. There is no discussion of the famous clause in the Statute of York or mention of Dr. Haskins's recent monograph on the subject. Conditions leading to the disfranchising act of 1430 are not described, nor the process and significance of impeachment or bills of attainder. The significance of creating peers by letters patent as bearing on the future of the constitution is not explained. Again the question presents itself: for whom is the author writing? One thing is clear: this is no book for the prospective law student. Maitland and the judiciary are obscured. Tout and the administration are ascendant.

Some errors or misconceptions may be noted. That old deceiver, *commune consilium,* reappears and haunts the pages from 174 to the end. At first dealt with rather cautiously, it grows upon the author until he calls it "the primary council of the realm" (it is even written *concilium* on p. 297). The universality of "common counsel" as a form of expression in the writers of this period, which has been analyzed in great detail (*Am. Hist. Rev.,* XXV, 1-17), is here narrowed and twisted to mean some preparliamentary assembly; and the nice distinction between *concilium* and *consilium* observed by contem-

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porary chroniclers and officials, which can be shown by citation of literally thousands of contexts, is overlooked. The author has slipped into an error which warps his treatment of a leading theme. He neglects *magnum concilium,* which was a frequent and meaningful term, and does not suspect that the *communi concilio et consilio* of William I's ordinance is a corrupt text. The descriptive and nontechnical use of the term *curia regis* and all its manifold variants is not clearly understood, and the question of the institutional origin of the Norman king's court is blurred. The first use of *parliamentum* in connection with a central assembly is still dated 1246, as in Stubbs, and there is also the mistake of attributing its early uses solely to chroniclers (see *Mod. Language Rev.,* IX, 92, 93). *Colloquium* is treated as a developed assembly name in some way different from *parliamentum* and is made the subject of a transitive verb (p. 291). It is the plain meaning of a statement on page 215 that the king's bench as well as the common bench derived from the bench of five justices which Henry II appointed in 1178, and the statement is made that "the Great Charter accepted a court of Common Pleas as an established fact and fixed its session at Westminster". It is not pedantry to point out, as has often been done, that the Charter mentions common pleas but not a court of common pleas (which was not an official name) or indeed a common bench. On page 313 reference is made to the royal summons in 1226 of four representative knights from each of eight counties (*Rot. Litt. Claus.,* II, 153), but, apparently as a result of Stubbs's oversight, there is no mention of the summons of popularly elected knights from all the counties the next year (*ibid.,* pp. 212-13). And there were thirty-seven counties in the thirteenth century, not thirty, as appears to be stated on page 351. The representative knights of 1254 are spoken of as summoned to "make a grant", whereas the grant was made in the county courts, and the knights were summoned to answer definitively, *præcise respondere,* the same procedure being enjoined upon the diocesan synods and the representative clergy who bore the records of their grants. A study of the summonses of 1227 and 1254 shows that it is incorrect to say that 1254 was "the first occasion when a single constituency of each and all in the shire was available as a basis of representation". The first occasion was at the earlier date. In every connection, and especially in what relates to the origin of parliament, too distinct a line is drawn at 1272. The practices of representation, local election, concentration, and the king's purposes in speaking with knights and burgesses had all been worked out before that date. The "aids, mises, and prises" of Confirmatio Cartarum are regarded as merely recalling Article 12 of Magna Carta and also as having to do with wool. It seems unnecessary to point out the inaccuracies here. In all that relates to royal revenue the word taxation is often used in too broad and untechnical a way, and in matters touching import and export duties the author should surely have used the books and articles of Professor Gras. Besides the neglected author-

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ities already noted, it may be remarked in conclusion how little of Maitland's pregnant writing is used. There is also slight reference to G. B. Adams's work, notwithstanding the debt owed him in the matter of the feudal contract. There is no mention of Professor Morris's constitutional history to 1216 or of Professor Stephenson's research on urban origins. The apt caption of an earlier review of this book (*The New Statesman and Nation,* November 6, 1937), "Stubbs Redivivus", might well be expanded to "Stubbs Redivivus et Tout Triumphans".

The index is very disappointing. On the subject side it is so weak as to be of little use, while a large proportion of the names of persons is of obscure officials.

University of Minnesota. A. B. WHITE.

A History of the English Coronation. By PERCY ERNST SCHRAMM, Professor of History in the University of Göttingen. Translated by Leopold G. Wickham Legg. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. xv, 283. $4.25.)

THIS study is based primarily on the *ordo* or form of ritual employed at the coronation and extends to England the type of investigation which the writer has carried on for various medieval lands on the Continent. The main theme is supplied by the changes in legal and religious ideas shown by successive *ordines* when interpreted in the light of history. The outcome is some useful history, in the statement of which the author displays a high order of scholarship.

The first example of kingly anointing in England occurs in 787; the first coronation *ordo,* influenced by Frankish usage, appears in the time of Edgar. Through an *ordo* half Anglo-Saxon, used in France from about 980, the skeleton of the French coronation became much the same as the English. A second English *ordo* became from 1059 the basis of the Hungarian coronation. After the Norman conquest the queen was crowned as a sharer in the royal power, though apparently never until 1274 at the same time as the king. The archbishop of Canterbury crowned both king and queen, and in case he was unable to do so, one of his suffragans performed the rite. The archbishop of York did not become his alternate until 1689. Since the Norman conquest the place of coronation has been Westminster. Upon the idea that coronation was a sacrament rested the assertion that an anointed king could not be deposed. Innocent III held that the power of the king was not superior to that of the church because he was anointed in a manner different from that of priestly consecration. The fact that the so-called Anselm *ordo* provided for consecration of the king with oil different from that used in the case of a bishop, is linked by Professor Schramm with the argument of *rex et sacerdos,* used earlier in the York anonymous manuscript to justify the monarch's control in ecclesiastical affairs. Yet coronation robes were in

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many ways similar to ecclesiastical vestments; the king, from the time of Henry I, was popularly held to have a power in treating the sick; and a form of anointing to imply the king's ecclesiastical power was occasionally used even in the fourteenth century. Only after the king had been legally declared head of the English church did Archbishop Cranmer pronounce the anointing just a ceremony.

The chapter of greatest interest to the student of constitutional history deals with the election and succession of the king. The Anglo-Saxon principle of election is shown to have been urged in some form to support every succession of the twelfth century except that of Richard I. Ever since 1404 the succession is seen to have been sustained by act of parliament, for even the legal defects of the accession of James I were removed in this way. Such acts in most cases have meant the rejection of the stronger hereditary claim, more recently in the interest of certain constitutional principles and of the Protestant church. The proclamation of a new king on the day of his successor's death dates only from the sixteenth century.

The scholar will regret the relegation of documentation to the conclusion of the work, which materially increases the difficulty in following the proofs offered by the learned author.

University of California. W. A. Morris.

Bartholomew of Exeter, Bishop and Canonist: A Study in the Twelfth Century, with the Text of Bartholomew's Penitential from the Cotton MS. Vitellius A. XII. By Dom Adrian Morey, Sometime Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. xi, 320. $6.50.)

This book is what one would call, to use a term of art, a "cabinet picture". The author paints around his central figure the life of the church in England during the twelfth century. This was the time of the Becket controversy and of the growth of the canon law in England and elsewhere. Thus there is no lack of tensions and dramatic conflicts, which are reflected in the life history of the eminent canonist, Bartholomew of Exeter. To be sure, the author's leitmotiv is "the man and his work", but in the first part of the book, composed of six chapters, there is much more than a mere sum of biographical data. The author puts the man, whose importance he does not overrate, in his *milieu,* understood in the broadest sense, and thus makes a contribution to the general twelfth century history of the Catholic Church in England. The second part of the book consists of an edition of Bartholomew's penitential, which was suggested, as we are told, by Professor Holtzmann.

While the first three chapters, dealing with the external circumstances of Bartholomew's life, are of general interest only in so far as they show the typical *curriculum vitae* of a clergyman rising to prominence and the

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difficulties into which the Becket controversy threw the whole contemporary English clergy, the next three are more significant. The one on the bishop as a papal judge-delegate, the longest in the book, is particularly important because it illustrates the working of the system. It shows that English canonistic studies have advanced a good deal since Maitland's admirable *Roman Canon Law in the Church of England* was published forty years ago. Of course, Maitland's studies form the basis of our author's exposition, perhaps a little too much so. The author should have given more critical attention to the sources and newer researches; thus Barraclough's theory of the "provocationes ad causam" in *Acta Congressus Juridici Internationalis,* III (Rome, 1936), could have been made use of on page 46. The unqualified assumption of a "normal process of canonical jurisdiction" (p. 46) seems rather questionable for this period (see Barraclough, *Eng. Hist. Rev.,* LIII, 494, n. 3). The author reaches the interesting conclusion that "the increased activity in England of the canon law at the end of the century was almost inevitable and that, even had Becket failed to resist, the king would have found it no easy task to run counter to the tendencies of the age". This agrees with Barraclough's view on this point.

The edition of the penitential is preceded by a short introduction on the role and the origin of this type of literature, which purports to be no more than a brief summary of the more or less generally accepted views. The text of the penitential is accompanied by constant references to its immediate sources, *viz.,* Burchard, St. Yves, Peter Lombard, and Gratian. It is known that after Gratian the treatment of penance became a theological matter and ceased to be a legal topic dealt with by writers on canon law, and thus the publication of a post-Gratian penitential is of interest for the study of this development, which, in contrast to the copious literature on the early penitentials, has been rather neglected. One may regret that the author has refrained from any such analysis and has not attempted further to examine whether any influence was exerted by the refinements of the theory of penance on the development of secular criminal law. Such a study would seem to be rather promising for the twelfth century. Professor Oakley's *English Penitential Discipline and Anglo-Saxon Law in their Joint Influence* (1923) would serve as an excellent model.

Taken as a whole, this book is a highly valuable addition to the literature on the twelfth century church.

University of Minnesota. STEFAN A. RIESENFELD.

Terrae Incognitae: Eine Zusammenstellung und kritische Bewertung der wichtigsten vorcolumbischen Entdeckungsreisen an Hand der darüber vorliegenden Originalberichte. Von Dr. RICHARD HENNIG, Hochschulprofessor in Düsseldorf. Band III, *1200-1415 n. Chr., Beginn des Entdeckungs-Zeitalters.* (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1938. Pp. x, 389. 6 gld.)

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Dr. Hennig originally planned to include in Volume III of this series important travelers and explorers who lived between 1200 and 1492. Since a volume more than twice the size of the preceding ones would have been necessary for the materials which he had assembled, he has limited the present volume to the voyages of forty travelers who lived before 1415. The general arrangement of the material is the same as in the preceding volumes. Each chapter is divided into two sections: in the first part the editor presents selected passages from an edition of the traveler's narrative, translating the text if it is not already in German; in the second part he gives a summary of the entire narrative and an estimate of its significance. He tends to choose more or less striking or picturesque descriptions. Sometimes a hundred or more pages of the original are omitted between the selected excerpts, at other times only a few words. In the latter case the editor's text may present puerile repetitions which lower the tone of the original.

The editor's choice of editions is not always fortunate. For Marco Polo he utilizes the edition of Hans Lemke (Hamburg, 1907), merely citing the edition of Benedetto for a minor comment in his critical remarks. Yet Benedetto's edition contains scores of passages not found in Lemke's. Some critics questioned the validity of these passages, but my discovery of the Toledo manuscript in 1932 gives a stamp of authority to the new passages of Benedetto. (See *Speculum,* XII, 1937, pp. 456-63. The Toledo manuscript has now been published by A. C. Moule and Paul Pelliot: *Marco Polo: A Description of the World,* Vol. II, London, George Routledge, 1938.) Dr. Hennig's statement about Sir John Mandeville (p. 162) may well be questioned: "Ein Ritter dieses Namens ist im England des 14. Jhds. jedenfalls nicht zu ermitteln . . ." (*cf.* K. W. Cameron, "A Discovery in *John de Mandevilles", Speculum,* XI, 1936, pp. 351-59).

In his criticism Dr. Hennig seldom touches on the influences of other travelers, of atlases, maps, etc. He includes a chapter on the legendary discovery of the Madeira Archipelago by Machim. In addition to citing the famous legends of fabulous lands, historians should consider, I believe, the possibility of the influence of more popular folklore on the mind of medieval youth. In the *Primera crónica* of Alfonso el Sabio (p. 341a), Charlemagne receives Galiana in an inhospitable manner, and the latter answers: "Don Maynet, si yo sopiesse aquella tierra o dan soldada por dormir, pero que mugier so, yrme ya alla morar." More than two centuries later, at the time of the discovery of America, almost the same words appear in the mouth of Pármeno in the *Celestina* (Act VIII).

Although Dr. Hennig has apparently assembled his materials rather hastily, his vast knowledge of geographical lore is reflected throughout the greater part of the volume. The source which he cites on page 333 should read Volume 26 instead of Volume 75.

There is need of a work similar to *Terrae Incognitae* in English, with

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a more up-to-date bibliography and a more careful selection of passages, written for the layman as well as for the scholar.

The University of Wisconsin. J. Homer Herriott.

Magna Carta. Vorgelegt von Fritz Cramer, von Berlin. Angenommen auf Antrag von Herrn Prof. Dr. Karl Meyer. [Abhandlung zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der Philosophischen Fakultät, I, der Universität Zürich.] (Merano: S. Poetzelberger. 1937. Pp. l, 284. 25 Swiss fr.)

The Great Charter is a subject that has not been exhaustively treated. Some years hence, when all the documents of the royal archives—and others if possible—shall have been published for the reign of King John, a definitive work can be written. Meanwhile, with only the sources at present at our disposal, there would have been an opportunity, by minute analysis, to elucidate certain questions still obscure, such as the real reasons for the differences between the Petition of the Barons, the Great Charter, and its confirmations. I have myself recently tried to show that there is an advantage in explaining and interpreting the Petition of the Barons before attempting a consideration of the charter elaborated by the king's counselors; but I did not claim to give more than a sketch.

Mr. Cramer's book is not a work of this kind. He has certainly devoted to it prolonged labor, and respect should be paid to his conscientiousness, honesty, and devotion to historical research. He will be repaid for it by the competence that he has acquired in the course of his investigation. The very extensive apparatus of bibliography, references, citations, and collations with which this three-hundred page book is loaded has at least given the author himself a great mass of information. He has worked over a very extensive surface. It remains for him to dig deeply. It is to be hoped that in his future work he will dispense with so much citation of modern historians and not be afraid to have opinions of his own.

As to the contents of the book: In spite of its length, the twenty-page bibliography is not exhaustive. There are omissions. For example, to make his note on *utlagatio* more precise Mr. Cramer ought to have consulted the best study, that of André Réville ("Abjuratio regni", *Rev. Hist.*, Vol. L, 1892). But I don't consider such omissions as so serious. The important thing is to cite the essential and to have read and read carefully everything that is cited. I wonder if Mr. Cramer has read all the works which he enumerates. It does not appear that he has made use of the excellent book of W. A. Morris, *The Medieval English Sheriff*. He would have found there a substantial chapter on the sheriffs in the time of King John and the complaints that were made against them.

Mr. Cramer gives the text of the Great Charter, accompanied by a German translation of which some criticism may be made. Proper names are translated in general according to the somewhat too informal methods

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of English historians or even without any method at all: "Johannes filius Hugonis" becomes "John Fitz Hugo" and later (p. 26) appears as "John Fitz Hugh". In the first article of the charter the expression, so strange, "sciatis nos . . . in primis *concessisse* Deo" is translated by "Wisset das Wir . . . als erstes Gott *gelobt* . . . haben". The word *ballivus* is translated by *Beamte;* it would clearly be better to leave it untranslated, as the majority of German scholars do.

Mr. Cramer does not concern himself with the history of the crisis of 1215 and devotes his book to an exposition of the articles of the charter. He disregards the order in which they were written and adopts an order which he regards as more natural. This is a very dangerous procedure and one which is not always skillfully carried out by the author. I could have understood the juxtaposition of Article 12 (on the feudal aids) and Article 14 (on the meetings of the *magnum concilium*); but he postpones this last to the end and places it in the group where the "guarantee clauses" are assembled. This gives a distorted view and shows a lack of interest in the order followed by the framers of the charter. Is it merely accidental that the articles that interested the barons come first?

I cannot follow the author step by step in the mass of irrelevant discussions, of divergent interpretations, of citations of Anglo-Norman and foreign texts, where he continually wanders and where his readers are in danger of losing sight of the subject of the book. The citations are excessive; the entire text of the *Inquest of Sheriffs* as well as whole pages of the *Dialogue of the Exchequer,* for example, are taken from Stubbs's *Select Charters,* which is accessible in all libraries. Mr. Cramer wastes his time in giving a confusing bibliography on the condition of the peasant in England as well as in compiling long notes on the will, the marriage portion, and the dower in the style of elementary law lectures.

It would have been desirable if he had given his considered judgment on the disputed articles of the charter. His manner of interpreting Articles 12 and 14, of which I have just spoken, is a typical example of the excessive timidity which seizes him when he comes to the heart of his subject. He adheres here to the traditional view: he believes that *commune consilium regni* means *magnum concilium.* In his bibliography, however, he cites an article by Albert Beebe White (*Am. Hist. Rev.,* XXV, 1-17) which seems to show clearly that *commune consilium* was not used in this sense in England and means, in this context, general assent, public opinion. Why does Mr. Cramer not give his reasons for disregarding this interpretation? The subject is surely important enough. He does me the honor to refer to my opinion that Article 14 is not a guarantee to the English people of the principle of consent to taxation. I emphasize the fact that it does not appear either in the Petition of the Barons or in the confirmations of the charter. I believe that far from having been demanded by the barons,

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it was skillfully inserted in the charter by the king's counselors not to assure consent to taxation but to annul the right which the vassals arrogated to themselves of consenting individually. Mr. Cramer holds cautiously to the old interpretation, but he ought to have explained why he thinks that I am wrong. Here again he avoids a discussion of great importance.

In conclusion, this book is not the one we were waiting for. It will, however, be consulted as a useful repository of facts, of texts, and of historians' opinions on English institutions in the thirteenth century.

Paris. CH. PETIT-DUTAILLIS.

The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages. By AZIZ SURYAL ATIYA, Professor of Medieval (including Oriental) History in the University of Bonn, Sometime Charles Beard and University Fellow of the University of Liverpool, and History Tutor, University of London. (London: Methuen and Company. 1938. Pp. xvi, 604, 30*s*.)

DR. Atiya has made a comprehensive study of the idea, first set forth in the publications of the Société de l'Orient latin, that the crusades as a general European movement did not cease with the fall of Acre in 1291. He has proved that they remained a vital force in European and especially in papal politics, though with some change in immediate objective. The old idea of conquering the Holy Land directly gave way before a greater understanding of Eastern conditions. St. Louis had attempted the conquest of Egypt, and even of Tunis, as the key to Jerusalem. Later proponents suggested conquering the Ottoman Turks or, better still, the schismatic Greeks before attacking Palestine itself.

In his *Crusade of Nicopolis,* published in 1934 (reviewed in *Am. Hist. Rev.,* XL, 548-49), Dr. Atiya announced his intention of providing a complete work on the later crusades from all sources, Western and Oriental. He has amply fulfilled his promise. The present book includes a short preface on the possibility of the success of a crusade in the period; an exhaustive discussion of the works of pilgrims and propagandists of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; a description of Eastern Christendom, of the relations of Europe with the Mongols, and of such Latin missionaries to the Near, Middle, and Far East as had bearing on the crusade; and a scholarly account of the crusading movement, expedition by expedition. A closing chapter discusses the counterpropaganda of the Islamic world and the reaction of the East to Western attacks.

To complete so large a task required years of painstaking research. Every problem has been re-examined from the sources, with copious references to modern opinion. A new reading of the manuscripts in all the chief repositories in Europe and the East and personal investigation of the scenes of the attack on Alexandria by Pierre de Lusignan and of the battlefield of Nicopolis offer fresh interpretations and points of view. Scholars

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will be interested in the tabulation of the contents of the recently discovered Mamluk correspondence with Aragon from the Archivio de la Corona de Aragon in Barcelona, given in the appendix. Other appendixes provide complete lists of pilgrims and travelers, with references to the manuscripts or printed editions of their accounts, a list of the crusaders, and chronological tables. There is an admirably arranged bibliography and an index. The reviewer notes the omission of C. W. David's new edition of *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* (Columbia University Press, 1936) from the bibliography.

The failure of the later crusades is attributed to the lack of discipline and tactical skill on the part of the Westerners, not to the overwhelming numbers of the enemy. The commercial greed of the Genoese and Venetians vitiated all proposals for an economic blockade to bring Egypt to terms. ("Sanctions" seem destined to ill-success.) Sometimes the Italians warned the sultan of impending attack or diverted such attacks to their own profit. The insistence of the papacy on complete submission of the Eastern churches also prevented co-operation with Christians in the East, long after the impossibility of a reunion of the churches was apparent. The final disillusionment of Western chivalry at Nicopolis made further enthusiasm impossible.

The illustrations, two of them in color, the maps, the type and format are well chosen. The proofreading is excellent. Errors are few and in the main such as will not confuse the reader.

New York University. A. A. Beaumont, jr.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Crescent and the Rose: Islam and England during the Renaissance. By Samuel C. Chew. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. xviii, 583. $5.00.)

This book concerns itself with what was known about Turkey and the Near East in late Tudor and early Stuart England. It is based upon an exhaustive analysis of all that was written on the subject by English traders and travelers. Professor Chew does not attempt to criticize what was written or to appraise its accuracy. He is concerned rather with what Englishmen believed to be true than with what actually was true. As we should expect from him, his chief emphasis is upon the Near East in Elizabethan literature and drama. But he gives us what is probably the best account in print of the famous Sherley Brothers, and he has an excellent chapter on Mediterranean pirates, particularly on the English renegades among them, such as the notorious Captain Ward.

He makes no attempt to follow systematically such subjects as the growth of trade or the development of political relations with the Near

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East. We hear little of the vicissitudes of the Levant Company, of Venetian and French trade rivalry, and not so much as he might have told us about the efforts of William Harborne and Edward Barton, Elizabeth's agents at Constantinople, to stir up the Turk against the Spaniard. In this connection we commend to his attention the correspondence of Harborne and Barton printed by Pears (*English Historical Review,* VIII, 439-66) and Read (*Walsingham,* III, 326-32), the well-documented account of Harborne's embassy by Rawlinson (*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* 4th ser., V, 1-27), and Harborne's own (unpublished) narrative in the British Museum (Lansdowne MSS., LVII, no. 23, ff. 65-66). We commend also the correspondence of the Venetian ambassador at the Porte (*Cal. S.P., Venetian, 1581-91*). Professor Chew seems to have ignored in general the very considerable amount of material on Turkey in the English diplomatic correspondence of the times. But he may, perhaps justly, take the position that these diplomatic dispatches were confidential documents which had little or nothing to do with shaping English opinion.

As a whole the book is a scholarly as well as a delightful piece of work. Though it is addressed primarily to students of literature, it contains a great deal of value to students of history.

University of Pennsylvania. CONYERS READ.

English Political Thought, 1603-1660. By J. W. ALLEN, Late Professor of History, Bedford College, University of London. Volume I, *1603-1644.* (London: Methuen and Company. 1938. Pp. x, 525. 21*s.*)

THE field of political theory, as Professor Allen rightly suggested ten years ago in the introduction to his *History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century,* is one generally neglected by historians. Other topics have doubtless been slighted hitherto because of lack of interest. This can scarcely be the explanation, however, in the case of political theory, since it is concerned with principles which for centuries have aroused the keenest controversy. It seems more probable that historians have been reluctant to deal with this subject because of the number and magnitude of the problems which it presents. The writer who grapples with it not only suffers from all the ills to which his colleague, the constitutional historian, is heir, but other serious ones as well. He must, of course, separate the marrow of his subject from the bone of contemporary political events and yet refer to these often enough to explain the living origin of the concepts with which he is dealing. He is torn between the desire to explain his subject in terms of its own age only and the necessity of giving it some intelligible modern form, as by making it a portion of the story of how the present came to be. To all these, and similar, difficulties of a general sort there are added, in the case of the historian of political theory, other difficult problems. He must keep in mind the development of abstract

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theories while adequately treating the individuals and their works in which these theories find expression. He must distinguish idealistic thought from realistic, the wishes of utopian dreamers from the arguments which counsel at the bar have found it expedient to employ in presenting a given case before a particular tribunal. Shall he neglect one or the other of these types of theory, and, if not, how is he to treat his material in any coherent order without losing sight of this fundamental distinction? Surely the pioneer author who ventures into such a briar patch of thorny problems earns his readers' gratitude.

Mr. Allen has not only done this but has also presented his material in a fresh way, for he writes as a strong royalist. Such a treatment of early Stuart history on scholarly lines has been overdue for some time. When no secret is made of the author's sympathies, the intelligent reader must welcome a documented argument for the policy of the crown in matters on which the opposition view has long held sway among the historical profession.

Yet it must be said that the author has made generous use of his pioneer's license. He has forgotten the cautions called for by the above mentioned difficulties, some of which he himself pointed out a decade back, and the clarity of his focus has been affected. Interspersed with treatments of subjects which belong to political theory, as generally understood, the reader now finds discussions of political events, expositions of various theological outlooks, and even some pointed strictures on the prose style of Milton's controversial pamphlets.

This breadth of interest has limited the space available for particular theorists, even though the author now devotes an entire volume to the thought of a single country during less than half a century. Bacon and Raleigh, Hales and Chillingworth, Montague and Laud, Parker, Hunton, and many others are all considered in chapters so short as to admit of little analysis. Even that little is frequently weakened by the author's apparent indifference to the contributions of predecessors in these specific fields. Surely a pioneer surveyor may take advantage of the scattered clearings in his territory. A consultation of the works, say, of Y. C. Hoe, W. K. Jordan, and Perry Miller would have greatly strengthened the discussions of parliamentary sovereignty, toleration, and Puritan thought. Some freshness of treatment may be gained by this method of ignoring most other secondary writers, but this cannot justify the comparative neglect of such sources as parliamentary journals and diaries. The development of the theory of the social compact is discussed without any reference whatever to Sir Edwin Sandys or his memorable speech in the House of Commons on May 21, 1614.

In attempting the badly needed apologia for the royal policy in this period the author relies on the argument that common law precedents were on the side of the royal theory, which in his view resolves itself into the not

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unreasonable claim of the right to break the law in times of emergency (pp. 4-25, especially pp. 12, 14). Yet, if I have not misunderstood him, he then appears to damage his case by conceding—in the face of contemporary Continental analogies to the contrary—the inevitability of the triumph of the rising tide of opposition (pp. 40-43, 359-62) with whose virtual victory in 1644 the volume ends. Similarly, on the ecclesiastical side, he accepts the liberal theory to the extent of defending the high church position by claiming for its advocates a superiority in the virtues which are generally supposed to be peculiar to their theological rivals, instead of arguing for them on their own particular merits, which were certainly not inconsiderable. The complexity of his thought on Puritanism—of which he makes the desire for assurance of election the distinguishing feature—may be briefly suggested by the following puzzle: "No one is likely to deny that Prynne was a representative Puritan (p. 278)." "There were Puritans who, like Prynne, were Erastian; but they, it seems to me, were eccentric and exceptional (p. 302)."

A recent president of the American Historical Association, who has done a great deal of pioneering in this very difficult field, is said to have contemplated at one time the publication of a summary of his findings. It is to be hoped that the project has not been abandoned, for the subject still needs the master touch.

The University of Chicago. M. M. KNAPPEN.

A Commentary on Macaulay's History of England. By Sir CHARLES FIRTH, Sometime Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. ix, 375. $7.50.)

THE lectures which constitute the chapters of this volume were first delivered more than twenty-five years ago, but the lapse of time has not appreciably diminished their worth. Through them Sir Charles Firth hoped to encourage students of the period of Macaulay's *History* to maintain an open mind and to seek to weave new evidence "into the tissue of the national story". This the reader should constantly bear in mind for it probably serves to explain why Firth laid particular stress upon Macaulay's defects on the one hand, and, on the other, upon evidence which Macaulay neglected, or of whose existence he was, perhaps unavoidably, unaware. In consequence the judgments here expressed are generally adverse to the Whig historian, although, since no general summary is effected, it may be that they do not express the author's complete opinion. Allusion is made to some of Macaulay's merits, but in general they fall into the background.

Yet the treatment accorded the *History* is illuminating, although not always novel. Of special worth is the commentary on Macaulay's manner of writing and on his use of authorities. Firth holds that Macaulay's determination to write a history that would interest everybody who could

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read led him to use the devices of the orator rather than those of the writer, with resultant exaggeration. Macaulay's skill in combining the difficult materials of his celebrated Third Chapter is recognized, although here, as elsewhere, Sir Charles discovers an unscientific tendency "to generalise too boldly from imperfect data". Due credit is given for the use of newspapers, pamphlets, the literature, and even the "facetiae" of the day, but it is pointed out that Macaulay was unaware of the dangers involved in using some of these authorities to establish facts, and that "when his personal prejudices came into play his vigilance relaxed".

The chapter entitled "Macaulay's Errors" constitutes the most considerable indictment which Firth presents. The combination of a phenomenal memory, which converted impressions into realities, with what Macaulay himself described as imaginative "castle building", led too often to historical disaster on the part of one who "scorned neutrality". Conjectures are stated as facts, "omniscience intervenes to supply the want of evidence", and "severe censure" is deserved when authorities are edited or altered as is sometimes the case.

Out of his wealth of knowledge Sir Charles indicates major bodies of material which even now call for investigation and enumerates Macaulay's omissions, both major and minor. His own scientific treatment of evidence is apparent when he handles such matters as the breaking of the boom at Londonderry and the Brest expedition. His command of the biographical and critical literature on Macaulay is manifest in many quick summaries and numerous asides. But it is his telling analysis of the defects, pardonable and otherwise, of Macaulay's *History,* his exposition of the "besetting sins" of its author, that renders Firth's *Commentary* welcome to an audience larger than that which listened to the lectures of prewar days though inevitably smaller than that which Macaulay stirred.

Brown University. ROBERT H. GEORGE.

The Organization of the English Customs System, 1696-1786. By ELIZABETH EVELYNOLA HOON. [The American Historical Association.] (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1938. Pp. ix, 322. $4.00.)

DR. Hoon began this study in the hope of shedding further light on the effects upon the colonial tobacco trade of the abuses in the English customs service. Perhaps in consequence she approaches the matter with the notion that eighteenth century bureaucrats had some closely articulated policy known as mercantilism which, consciously and consistently applied, actually interfered with the real business of collecting the maximum revenue authorized by the statutes. Yet after a categorical statement that "the customs system, then, was the instrument of putting mercantilist policy into effect at the British ports", mercantilism is happily allowed to give way to a clear, well-organized, and interesting description of the customs service from the

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date of the passing of the last Navigation Act to the year preceding Pitt's Consolidation Act.

To set the stage, some indication is given of the complexity of the administrative problems dealt with by the customs service. By 1784 no less than 100 separate accounts of customs had been opened, of which 68 were still in force, levying many differently rated and computed duties on the same commodities. By 1784 the tobacco duties were five times the value of the tobacco; between 1759 and 1784 the duties on tea ranged between 65 per cent and 120 per cent. Each duty was paid separately by the merchant, kept in a different account by the collector, and allocated by the exchequer to the special fund or service indicated by statute.

The treasury board constituted the final authority in customs matters, but the board of customs commissioners were entrusted with their practical administration. They regulated procedure, supervised personnel, considered merchants' petitions, and formulated customs policy. They concerned themselves with a vast amount of the business of the Port of London, even in routine matters, and, though their supervision of the outports was more general, every questionable case might be submitted to the board by local officials. Miss Hoon lets us see the commissioners and their secretaries and clerks at work in the east wing of the custom house, beginning the day with breakfast together and even sacrificing holidays to the press of business. Directly subject to the commissioners was a central office for the receipt of revenue and the preparation of accounts, made up of the receiver general, the receiver of fines and forfeitures, the receiver of the superannuation fund and other treasurers, the controller general and other auditors, the inspectors of personnel, such as the general surveyors, and the legal experts who supervised prosecutions and advised the board on questions of policy.

The survey of the central agencies is followed by a close examination of the complex organization of the Port of London and of the less highly developed custom houses of the outports. The next chapter, headed "Personnel", is one of the most interesting in the volume, since it endows the abstract official with some of our common humanity. Something of the same human interest crops out in the details of the actual procedure involved in a merchant's passing his goods through the customs. A certain lesser appeal attaches to the account of the efforts of the customs officers to stop smuggling through land and water patrols. A description of the procedure in cases of seizure for smuggling concludes the volume.

Profound research is evident on every page of Dr. Hoon's work. At times it seems that a great deal of detail is introduced which is scarcely necessary to an understanding of the organization of the English customs system in the eighteenth century. But much of this very detail is evidence of first importance for the significant question of the quality of govern-

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ment provided in England in this period. Through her intimate views of one of the greatest departments of the state machine at work, Dr. Hoon provides new material for a revaluation of the concept of the inefficiency and corruption of government in the eighteenth century as it derives from the scarcely objective delineations of later reformers. There were abuses. The fixation of salaries made the fee system inevitable. Patronage appointees were often poorly chosen. Short hours and frequent holidays—dare a modern even hint that they were altogether bad? Failure to consolidate new levies with old, probably impossible as long as specific levies were earmarked for specific obligations, made for complexity; and complexity made for fraud. But on the whole Dr. Hoon shows that the bodies in executive control were sound and that they made "endless efforts" to secure the just and efficient working of the customs system. Encouragement of every kind was given to deserving officers for good service, and penalties were inflicted for violation of trust. The customs board were aware of abuses, such as those of useless and outworn offices, heavy fees, and long absences, and sought to reduce or abolish them. "The Commissioners were conscientious in duty and intelligent and fair in their decisions on customs cases", says Dr. Hoon; and from the evidence in her volume the same qualities were prevalent among the lower officers with comparatively few exceptions.

In some way or other, perhaps through her long researches in England, Dr. Hoon has been exposed to the disease known as the English Index. It is true that in elaborate cross references and subheadings she shows acquaintance with the American variety; but the pernicious foreign infection is evident in connection with such entries as *London, Merchants, Seizures,* and others. Instead of 164 undifferentiated page references under *Customs Board,* in a book of 291 pages of text, would it have been less useful to cite *pp. 1-291, passim?* Or possibly to omit such citations altogether?

University of Illinois. F. C. Dietz.

The Clandestine Organization and Diffusion of Philosophic Ideas in France from 1700 to 1750. By Ira O. Wade, Associate Professor of Modern Languages in Princeton University. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1938. Pp. ix, 329. $3.50.)

In this volume the author has set himself the task of proving his thesis that there existed during the first half of the eighteenth century a clandestine manuscript literature in France, sufficiently important to establish "a solid foundation of liberalism upon which the writers of 1750-1789 had to build". In the main the volume consists of a study of the most influential of the manuscript treatises: the number of copies in existence; where they are to be found; a comparative study of the various copies; and an analysis of

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each treatise and an estimate of its importance. The solid scholarship and meticulous care shown by the author in presenting details give considerable validity to his thesis.

These manuscript treatises were a means of defying the censorship, which was fairly strict during the first half of the century. Copies were made, both by professional and nonprofessional copyists, and circulated or sold by literary bootleggers. There is no way of knowing exactly how many were written or the extent of the circulation. In some instances even the authors are unknown. From those treatises that he has been able to track down, the author concludes that the clandestine philosophic movement was both active and widespread and that its influence reached not only readers but also famous writers. It is known that Voltaire, Rousseau, Montesquieu, and Holbach made use of them. The treatises described by the author are nearly all devoted to attacks on revealed religion in general and on Christianity in particular, generally from the deistic viewpoint. This underground stream of propaganda prepared the audience for the Voltaire of Ferney, who is now seen to be the culmination, not the beginning, of the anti-Christian movement in eighteenth century France. Sometimes the underground stream bubbled to the surface, as in the cases of the *Lettres philosophiques* of Voltaire and the *Lettres persanes* of Montesquieu, which appeared during the first half of the eighteenth century.

The best known of the clandestine treatises is the *Testament* of Jean Meslier, to which an admirable chapter of the present study is devoted. This bitter denunciation of Christianity by a renegade priest was widely circulated in manuscript before it appeared in print in the later part of the century, when the censorship was relaxed. In the opinion of the author, the *Testament* "is unique in that it embraces all the scope of eighteenth century liberal criticism".

The greatest single influence on the clandestine writers was Spinoza. His *Tractatus,* with its scientific method of Biblical criticism, later known as Higher Criticism, "was more than a model: it was both a wealth of information and a stimulus to the further development of free thought". There was also considerable English influence, which took the form of translations of the writings of the English deists, especially those of Toland and Woolston.

For all its admirable qualities the volume has serious limitations. It treats the anti-Christian propaganda as an isolated phenomenon with little or no relation to the historic background. And the author does not seem to be aware of the great social transformation that France experienced in the eighteenth century of which the intellectual ferment was, in part, the expression. The clandestine treatises, to judge by the author's attitude, must have been endowed with a miraculous power of spontaneous fecundity, one manuscript generating another. The volume is essentially a scholarly cata-

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logue rather than a work on intellectual history and hence more valuable to the librarian than to the historian.

The City College, New York. J. SALWYN SCHAPIRO.

The Charity School Movement: A Study of Eighteenth Century Puritanism in Action. By M. G. JONES, Fellow of Girton College, Lecturer in History in the University of Cambridge. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. xiii, 446. $7.00.)

THE movement for national education in the British Isles is customarily considered a nineteenth century phenomenon and is associated with the growth of radicalism, of belief in progress, and of the new factories. Miss Jones wants to date the beginnings of the movement in the seventeenth century, when the first charity schools were set up in Wales. She sees it as continuing throughout the eighteenth, with hundreds of schools established and hundreds of thousands of children taught to read, and merging with, indeed providing the structural organization for, the successful educational societies of Bell and Lancaster. This is her major thesis, backed by wide study in little known or used printed and manuscript sources.

Charity schools were distinguished by four characteristics: they were for the children of the poor; they emphasized the reading, writing, and memorizing of religious catechisms; they were complete in themselves, not designed as stepping-stones to grammar or other schools; and they were supported by annual voluntary contributions from puritanical-minded men and women. These schools are mentioned in all histories of British education as an outgrowth of the reforming zeal of Queen Anne's reign, which succumbed to the "general apathy" of the mid-century. Miss Jones does not deny that interest in them slackened in the third decade, though she makes great point, without very much supporting and with no statistical evidence, of the numbers that lasted till the century's end. A continuous and sustained movement can be found only if one jumps in turn from one part of the British Isles to another, for when contributions fell off in one nation an eager group in another caught up the idea. Thus the schools of the Welsh Trust of 1672, lasting scarcely a decade, were followed in turn by those of the English S.P.C.K. in 1701, the Scottish S.P.C.K. in 1709 and 1738, the Incorporated Society in Ireland in 1733, and Griffith Jones's circulating schools in Wales in 1737.

Not one of these joint-stock companies stressed education for education's sake. In Wales, up to 1779, when the funds became tied up in a chancery suit and the schools abruptly ceased, the object was a purely religious one. In England men hoped that the schools would discipline the lower classes to their proper station in life. Intended to be a means of social control, they soon developed into propaganda agencies, first for the Jacobites and then for the Whigs. That controversy killed the movement; the S.P.C.K. aban-

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doned elementary education for the mission field in 1733. The Scots society in the Highlands and the Incorporated Society in Ireland tried to use charity schools to destroy Catholicism, but they found it impossible to combat deep-rooted prejudice in the one locality or the quiet courageous work of the hedge-priest in the other. From this brief summary of Miss Jones's argument it would appear that interest in popular education was sporadic and scattered, that the only continuity is in the idea of a charity-school organization, and that such pathetic, ill-supported schools as lasted beyond 1800 can scarcely be said to have contributed anything more than the form itself to the widespread educational movement of the nineteenth century.

Neither educational ideas nor public interest in them can be divorced from general intellectual movements. Miss Jones seems to think that the flame of pure philanthropy burned always with a constant, steady glow, that the England of Sarah Trimmer and of John Howard felt the same way about poverty and human suffering as the England of Thomas Firmin and Robert Nelson. At times, indeed, she suggests that the growth of radical thought, the increase of more precise knowledge, and the religious revivals left an influence upon education, but she makes no effort to correlate them with the charity-school movement. The unsatisfactory character of such generalizations, the too frequent repetitions, the occasional disorderliness of organization, all of which mar an otherwise very useful book, are not attributable to her lack of industry or of understanding, for she possesses both. They are rather the result of spreading the actual writing of this book over a number of years. Materials long a-gathering and ideas long a-forming should be brought and held to sharp focus in writing a book.

Yale University. STANLEY PARGELLIS.

Jacob Emden: A Man of Controversy. By MORTIMER J. COHEN. (Philadelphia: Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning. 1937. Pp. 336. $3.00.)

IT is well for the author of this book that he modified the title by the subtitle, for as a biography of the man whose name it bears, the work is deficient in many respects. Jacob Emden (1698-1776), an outstanding personality in German Jewry during the eighteenth century, wrote many important books in the field of Rabbinics and possessed a fine historical sense coupled with critical acumen. His analysis of the *Zohar,* the leading book of the Kabbala, was a veritable contribution to historical literary criticism and helped much towards the evolving of a better understanding of Jewish mysticism and its doctrines. Of all this we have very little in the present volume, where the literary phase of Emden's activity is dealt with in a few pages.

The author was primarily interested in Emden's controversial activities,

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and of these mainly in his strife with Jonathan Eibeschuetz, which lasted for years and created great commotion in world Jewry at the time and became also the concern of the governments of Denmark and the city of Hamburg. It is the story of this strife, which is told in detail occupying more than half of this work, that constitutes its chief merit. The same cannot be said of the treatment of Emden. Dr. Cohen attempts to analyze his personality from the point of view of Freudian psychology and endeavors to explain his activities in that strife, as well as his life-long struggle against all erratic movements in Judaism arising from false Messianism and misleading mysticism, as caused chiefly by sexual repression and mental morbidity. That Emden was of a quarrelsome nature, unsuccessful in his aspirations, and in his attacks often resorted to gross exaggeration, may readily be admitted. But that he possessed an inferiority complex, lacked courage, or that sexual repression played such an important part in his personality is more than dubious. The author is biased in favor of Eibeschuetz, and many pages read like apologies for his favorite hero. The translation of passages from the original documents is affected by that bias.

Engrossed in the task of proving his thesis, Dr. Cohen at times commits errors which he could easily have avoided. Thus he not only ascribes to Emden a work entitled *Seder Olam Rabba we-Zutta* but says that he wrote it in order to refute the doctrines of the Frankists (p. 257), though every student of Jewish history knows that the *Seder Olam Rabba* and the *Seder Olam Zutta* are historical works written in the second and the ninth century respectively. Emden merely edited them, adding some notes.

Notwithstanding these criticisms, this volume contains much material which throws light upon a notable episode in Jewish history and will be read with interest by students in that field.

Hebrew Theological College, Chicago. MEYER WAXMAN.

Africa Emergent: A Survey of Social, Political, and Economic Trends in British Africa. By W. M. MACMILLAN. (London: Faber and Faber. 1938. Pp. 414. 15*s*.)

The Road to the North: South Africa, 1852-1886. By J. A. I. AGAR-HAMILTON, Senior Lecturer in the Department of Modern History, University of Pretoria. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1937. Pp. xvi, 458. $7.50.)

IN the perennial and never-to-be-settled debate on the proper relationship between the social sciences the first of these books is significant. Professor Macmillan, himself a historian, demonstrates how profitable it can be for the historian to disregard the traditional barriers between history, economics, political science, and sociology. The result is a book which is not exactly history, yet could have been written only by a historian.

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The key to Africa's history and politics is its deep poverty throughout the ages and the intractable nature of the wealth which it did contain. It was largely because Africa's bush and soil yielded so little that the sixteenth and seventeenth and eighteenth centuries plundered it of its people, or more accurately of its labor. At a moment when Africa seems fated to be the scene of more political shuffling between the imperialist powers, a book that deals with the economic and social realities of African society itself can only be timely. To such a task Professor Macmillan brings an experience such as only few students of Africa are likely to have. True to the advice of Carlyle that the historian must see as well as read, he has implemented research in documents and records by extensive tours. In Africa, especially, personal acquaintance is vitally necessary, for the history of backward and illiterate peoples, through the default of customary materials, must be read in their living institutions and customs. *Africa Emergent* is an important book, rich in fact and suggestion.

In the first four chapters is given the fullest and easily the best explanation that we have of why Africa is deficient in "most of the essential means of civilization". Endemic diseases, debilitating parasites, foods of low dietetic value, soils deficient in essential chemicals, irregular rainfall—these go far to explain the centuries of African stagnation.

When he has explained, Professor Macmillan goes on to persuade and to suggest reform. He puts forth the claim of the modern African to the material progress and the cultural rights which the Victorian empire promised the dependent empire. In this phase of his study he constitutes himself a commission of one to report upon the great variety of agencies which bear upon the life and effort of the modern African and to recommend how colonists, merchants, capitalists, government officials, missionaries, and others should make good their responsibilities to the great mass of over 150,000,000 Africans. In this aspect of his study, students will want to read him side by side with Lord Hailey's *African Survey*. Even here, however, Professor Macmillan's criticism and recommendations are rich in stimulating historical analogies.

In telling the story of white expansion northwards between 1852 and 1886 Dr. Agar-Hamilton takes a first step toward what has long needed to be written, a history of land policy and settlement. Sometimes his conclusions have to be dug out of his too-detailed pages. Yet in the main he shows real resource and wisdom in refusing to be misled by the red herrings and side issues of more than thirty years of unbroken land disputes. His discussion of the famous quarrel over the Diamond Fields, the source of so much bitterness in Anglo-Boer relations, is admirably direct, and his conclusion suggests by implication that Downing Street was after all wise in ignoring the legal problem of ownership and concentrating instead on the practical problem of maintaining law and order.

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The road running northward from the Cape Colony, which gives the book its title, was of strategic and commercial importance. It ran through an important area of native settlement, much of which is today the Protectorate of Bechuanaland. After the annexation of the Diamond Fields in 1871 the British government fought off effort after effort to saddle it with responsibility for the territory adjoining the Road to the North. When it finally annexed the Bechuana territory, in 1885, it did so reluctantly to prevent the Dutch republics, or possibly Germany, from closing the road. In spite of its reluctance it stumbled into one of its most constructive achievements in its tortuous South African policy. The Bechuanaland Protectorate is today one of the most spacious areas of native settlement guaranteed to the natives in all South Africa.

It is a pity that the author has adopted the orthography of specialist students of the native languages. What may be gained in technical accuracy is lost in intelligibility. Names that usage had made familiar again become strange and often unpronounceable.

The technical side of the book is meticulously done. There are very few slips. The two maps at the end are clear and most useful. It is a pity that the expense of printing a monograph such as this precludes a still freer use of maps. A map of the water resources of Bechuanaland or reproductions of some of Colonel Moysey's sketches of interspersed white and black settlement, to be found in the Public Record Office, would be a great help in following involved passages.

The State University of Iowa. C. W. DE KIEWIET.

South West Africa in Early Times: Being the Story of South West Africa up to the Date of Maharero's Death in 1890. By HEINRICH VEDDER. Translated and edited by CYRIL G. HALL. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. xv, 525. $6.00.)

IN this volume Dr. Heinrich Vedder, to whom students of African history are already heavily in debt, tells the story of South West Africa from earliest times to 1890. He is chiefly concerned with the migrations and wars of the native tribes, mainly in the nineteenth century, though he includes the earliest contacts of European navigators with the country and the later explorations of the white man. The German occupation in 1884 is referred to but is not described in full; it does not properly belong to the history of the natives, which is given here for the first time in very great detail. The reconstruction of native history was no simple matter; it was made from "old notes, letters, reports, and diaries and, to a lesser extent, from information given by word of mouth by Europeans and natives who have been long in the land". The author is fully justified in believing that students "will not be able to learn anywhere else" the things that constitute the story told in this book.

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Many readers might feel inclined at first sight to agree with Dr. Vedder in his modest view that the book can have only a limited appeal, "for much that it contains is of very minor importance in comparison with the great events of the world at large, and can only be interesting to those who have, in some way or other, become closely identified with our sunny land". The author deals mainly with the tyranny of the Orlams, chiefly under Jonker Afrikander, with the Herero struggle for independence, and with Henrik Witbooi's war against the Hereros. The names are local, the customs are strange, and the reader must frequently refer to the maps in the book to make certain that he is aware of what is going on. The style is simple, direct, unadorned. Despite the ambitions of the translator to make the English text as nearly as possible "according to Fowler", errors of grammar and style are in evidence here and there.

The book has in it much of the quality that gives the Old Testament a significance transcending ancient Palestine. This comparison with the Old Testament is intentional, for the reader is often reminded of a similarity as he reads of the warring nomadic tribes, of the watch set over herds of cattle, of the struggle for water, of brutal chieftains who raid and kill on slightest provocation; consciences they do not appear to have, except when missionaries, like the prophets of the Old Testament, warn and seek to restrain them.

Apart from its general sociological interest Vedder's book is to be recommended to those who think of Africa as a Garden of Eden until the white man entered it in the serpent's role. Among native Africans there was an imperialism as real in its results and as material in its purposes as that of the Europeans. This volume deserves credit for reminding us of this very important fact.

Yale University. HARRY R. RUDIN.

Le Président de Brosses et l'Australie. Par ALAN CAREY TAYLOR. [Études de Littérature étrangère et comparée, Collection dirigée par Paul Hazard.] (Paris: Boivin & Cie. 1937. Pp. 190. 30 fr.)

IN the decades before the French Revolution celebrated writers in France, almost to a man, pointed out the evils of colonial expansion. They saw in oversea possessions a cause of useless wars; they pictured the horrors of slavery and the slave trade. In Voltaire's jaundiced eye Canada appeared as nothing more than some "acres of snow"—a phrase destined to be too famous. He and other *philosophes* did, it is true, appreciate the value of some parts of the empire, but they could not regard them as worth what they had cost and were costing in human lives and treasure. Thanks to their attacks, public faith in the value of colonies was badly shaken.

Yet, paradoxically enough, the concept of a perfect colony persisted in the second half of the eighteenth century. Dr. Taylor's welcome little

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volume on the neglected Charles de Brosses and his interest in Australia helps to illustrate it. De Brosses was a provincial magistrate whose travels from his native Dijon were confined to journeys to Paris and Italy. But Europe alone did not constitute the world of this firm believer in empire. Led at first to the study of geography by his father, De Brosses was later prompted to take a particular interest in Australia (or what was known of it) from reading Buffon and Maupertuis. He wrote several memoirs on the subject, and from these grew his *Histoire des navigations aux Terres australes,* which appeared in two volumes in 1756. English and German translations followed after the Seven Years' War.

Dr. Taylor not only performs the useful service of summarizing the contents of this work but also shows its influence on the voyages of Bougainville and Cook. In a few years the geographical questions posed by De Brosses in regard to Australia were answered. In answering them, however, the explorers failed to found colonies, as he had proposed. Not until near the close of the eighteenth century did Australia first receive white settlers—and these in the form of convicts.

De Brosses's rules for colonizing arrest attention. An expedition sent out for the purpose of founding an establishment, he wrote, should bear in mind scientific as well as commercial and military considerations. It should promote agriculture rather than the search for precious metals. And it must not interfere with the religion of the natives. While De Brosses expressed no objection to Negro slavery—the antislavery movement was still in its infancy—he wanted full justice done to non-European races. Dr. Taylor naturally does not go into this subject, but it would be intriguing to know whether the men who planned the Bonaparte expedition to Egypt in 1798 had read De Brosses. Certainly the ideas underlying that remarkable enterprise strongly resemble those of the Dijon magistrate.

For the rest, Dr. Taylor deserves credit for calling attention in this careful scholarly study to the man whom Voltaire mockingly saluted as "Président des Terres australes". The book has a selective bibliography and an index of persons.

The National Archives. CARL LUDWIG LOKKE.

Matthew Boulton. By H. W. DICKINSON. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. xiv, 218. $4.50.)

THIS is the latest load of good metal to be dug out of the two great collections of Boulton and Watt manuscripts housed in Birmingham, England. Samuel Smiles used these papers ninety years ago, before they were generally accessible; but since 1923 Messrs. Lord, Roll, Dickinson, Jenkins, and others have explored them for economic and technical material, and President Guy Stanton Ford has found in them clues to a "Lost Year in Stein's Life" (*On and Off the Campus,* 1938, pp. 161-203).

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Mr. Dickinson has written biographies of James Watt and Robert Fulton and is co-author of the most authoritative work on the early steam engine. His training as an engineer makes him an expert guide on all technical points; but it leads to a certain stilted amateurishness in style, to questionable historical generalizations, and to a failure to realize the political or economic significance of parts of his story. These shortcomings are, however, unimportant, and should detract nothing from our gratitude for a valuable picture of a dominating personality in a dynamic society.

Boulton once told Watt that his interest in the latter's engine was due partly to his "love of a money-getting ingenious project". That phrase described his whole business career. He was an energetic money-getter and always had some new plan in mind or on hand. But his plans were always "ingenious"; they must give scope for resourcefulness, inventive capacity, and experiments in organization, equipment, or methods. The friend of Franklin and Priestley was as intellectually active in his business affairs as when he was arguing with the scientists in the Birmingham Lunar Society. What he did as "nurse and midwife" to Watt's engine we have long known, and Mr. Dickinson makes the contribution even more important than we used to think it was. But before Boulton met Watt he had already wrestled with the problems of producing better and cheaper buckles and buttons, of organizing a large factory with six or seven hundred workers, of combining manufacturing and marketing in one firm, and of making splendid pieces of steel jewelry, plate, and ormolu. After he had launched Watt's engine, he went on to new conquests, of which the chief was the revolution in minting coins. He built a mint of his own, with automatic machines attended by one or two boys and driven by a steam engine. He persuaded the British government—which had made virtually no copper coins for fifty years—to give him orders, and in ten years he minted 3500 tons of copper. The age-old famine of small change ended, and the curse of counterfeiting disappeared.

The book is full of good things: of Boulton's strategy in marrying his deceased wife's sister, after distributing 180 copies of *Fry on Marriage* among his friends; of statements of business policy and of the case for mass production of standardized articles; of Dr. Johnson's amazement when he saw the machines turning out "twelve dozen buttons for three shillings"; of skillful lobbying; of "hunches" which establish Boulton as an important inventor of secondary rank; and of eighteenth century verbal pomposity. Twenty pictures of the man, his works, and his products are beautifully reproduced. But how did the proofreader—a Cambridge one, of all people—come to doze long enough to let a sentence on page 121 begin with a small letter?

The University of Minnesota. HERBERT HEATON.

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Les commissaires aux armées sous le Directoire: Contribution à l'étude des rapports entre les pouvoirs civils et militaires. Deux tomes. Par JACQUES GODECHOT, professeur à l'École navale. (Paris: Éditions Fustier. 1937. Pp. li, 675; 438. 160 fr.)

Fragments des mémoires de Charles-Alexis Alexandre sur sa mission aux armées du nord et de Sambre-et-Meuse. Par JACQUES GODECHOT. Édition critique avec une introduction et des notes. (*Ibid.* Pp. 224. 40 fr.)

THE subject of the *commissaires* under the Directory was suggested as a topic for a doctor's thesis by Albert Mathiez some ten years ago, when there was as yet no clear idea as to the exact status of these officials. Toward filling this gap the author had the good fortune of finding a report drawn up for the Directory in 1799, enumerating all the *commissaires aux armées* appointed since 1795, with a résumé of the instructions given them. It is unfortunate that this document is not reprinted, for in a sense all that his two volumes offer do not make up for the lack of it.

M. Godechot's work is based on a long investigation not only in the chief French archives but also in Italy and Switzerland and in the archives of the German lands occupied by the armies of the Directory. It is not clear whether or not this painstaking search turned up much new material of importance. There is no appendix of documents, and those used in the text appear only as fragments incorporated in a running narrative, consisting largely of personal altercations, official controversies, and elaborate explanations of unimportant details. These wrangling conflicts the author presents no doubt impartially, but he does not avoid entering at great length into very trifling matters, and too often his narrative gives an impression of moving rapidly over the surface of many topics without summing up any of them or reaching substantial conclusions.

The author conceives his subject primarily as a study in the relations between the civil and the military power—starting from the premise that the authority given the *commissaires* was an index of the supremacy of the civil over the military power. His general thesis is that a decline of the civil authority was a cause of the trend which ended in a dictatorship. It seems fair to say that nothing his book offers supports such a thesis. The army commanders were appointed by the civil power no less than the *commissaires,* and on the whole appear to have been more trusted. It seems clear that in the eyes of the Directory the *commissaires* were very secondary figures, constantly changed about and dismissed, and dependent upon their fugitive political connections at Paris. Some of them were obviously unqualified and incompetent men. The fragment of the memoirs of Charles-Alexis Alexandre, listed above, which M. Godechot publishes as a separate volume, reveals a striking example of this type.

It is worthy of note that in 1796 sentiment in the army against con-

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tinuing the war and against territorial conquests became so strong that the Directory considered it a serious danger. It was not because of militarist but because of political pressure (from one faction in the government) that the decision was made for prolonging the war and for a general program of conquest. The "faction des anciennes limites" were now proclaimed traitors, and the *commissaires* had to take on the duty of suppressing such views in the army.

All the reports here quoted state with the utmost frankness that in Germany as in Italy the population at large hated the French invasion, and that the French partisans were only an insignificant minority. M. Godechot sees this as a reversal of the original attitude of the liberated peoples and presents his book as an explanation, in part, of the "désaffection croissante des pays conquis ou occupées par les armées françaises envers ces Républicains qu'ils appelaient de tous leurs voeux en 1795". After all, are the most fantastic interpretations of Hitler and Goebbels any more extravagant than this—"qu'ils appelaient de tous leurs voeux en 1795"? A century from now, will a national school of historians still be able to present the recent events in central Europe through a colored mist of romantic patriotism such as has become an accepted tradition in portraying the march of the Revolution outside the old frontiers?

Cambridge. T. H. Thomas.

Europe and the French Imperium, 1799-1814. By Geoffrey Bruun, New York University. [The Rise of Modern Europe, edited by William L. Langer.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1938. Pp. xiv, 280. $3.75.)

Professor Bruun's theses are two: first, "the Napoleonic empire was an anomaly in a continental society already sundered and diversified by nationalist traditions", and therefore "the restoration of a balance of power among the nation-states" was "a more or less predictable resolution of an abnormal situation"; secondly, along with doctrines of natural rights, the philosophers of the enlightenment had "recognized the necessity of regulating the activities of the individual in the interest of more effective government" and that ideal "found its most vigorous expression . . . in the efficient despotism of the Empire" (p. xiii). There is, to be sure, an apparent contradiction in those two theses. If Napoleon's despotism was a realization of a century-old philosophy, then it is hard to see how it can be considered an anomaly headed for a more or less predictable liquidation. Yet, since Mr. Bruun undoubtedly means that it was chiefly inside of France that the Empire was the realization of eighteenth century political theory and chiefly outside of France that it was a counternationalistic anomaly, the apparent contradiction is resolved. It is possible, however, to regard the rise of dictatorships as a more or less regular consequence of revolutionary chaos, and international aggressiveness as a more or less

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regular consequence of dictatorships. If that view is right, philosophy played a small part in making Napoleon a dictator, and there was nothing anomalous about his imperialism. Nevertheless, both of Mr. Bruun's theses are tenable, and he supports them intelligently—often with deftness, verve, and the proper dash of epigram and philosophic speculation. Perhaps no one in this country could have presented the most recent theories and the best literature on the Napoleonic era in a better-written synthesis.

Left to himself, Mr. Bruun might have produced a volume almost perfect for its purpose. His book contains, to be sure, the few inevitable points of fact or judgment on which other experts might demur—particularly the consignment of the republican tradition to a position of relative unimportance among the consequences of the French Revolution. But its more important shortcomings appear to be due to a probably unconscious effort to conform to the rules laid down in the editor's "Introduction" (already prefixed to earlier volumes of this series). In the endeavor, for example, "to go beyond a merely political-military narrative" (p. xi) there has been added a chapter (x) on "European Thought and Culture in the Napoleonic Era". There can be no objections to going beyond the merely political-military even in a study of the Napoleonic era, where there was so little on the Continent that was not somehow military-political. Yet, when the cultural aspects are treated only as an afterthought and are not made an intimate part of the story as it progresses, there is something textbookish and distinctly unsynthesized in the result. The chapter deals with a field in which the author is obviously not expert; indeed, there is no good reason why, being a specialist in revolutionary institutions and thought, he should be expert in it.

Nor does there seem to have been any good reason why "the minutely detailed, chronological approach" (p. xi) should not have been used in the present instance. After all, time is almost the only objective norm with which the historian deals. History happens in chronological order, and there is no good reason for being apologetic about it. One should, of course, stop at certain points in a narrative to review antecedents or to present cross sections of contemporary situations. But in narrative history the essential sequence is a time sequence. When that is violated, the effect is either needless confusion or needless repetition. Mr. Bruun employs sometimes the topical and sometimes the chronological arrangement, and the result is disturbing, as could be shown in detail if space permitted. Whatever the gains from the occasional resort to the topical arrangement may have been, they were hardly sufficient to compensate for the perplexity that sometimes results from the desertion of the strictly chronological order.

Mr. Bruun, in one regard at least, has not followed the precepts laid down in the introduction. He has given great attention to the per-

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sonality of Napoleon and the national history of France. That is only as it should be. The history of Europe from 1789 to 1815 is essentially the history of France and Napoleon. Nearly everything that is interesting to the general reader comes under the heading of foreign relations with France or internal reactions to Napoleonic domination. It is only fitting that Mr. Bruun should have followed the time-honored tradition of writers on the Napoleonic era by giving the greatest amount of his space to France and the emperor, discussing England, Austria, Russia, Prussia, Spain, etc., only as it became necessary to indicate their relations and reactions to the French imperium. In that regard Mr. Bruun is considerably less of an innovator than the introduction (p. xii) would lead one to believe. And that is fortunate. Despite a somewhat obtrusive irony at the expense of those he calls "the liberal historians", Mr. Bruun continues in the best tradition of Thiers, Sorel, Rose, Kircheisen, *et al.*—and that observation is intended as a compliment to a deserving book.

The University of Chicago. LOUIS R. GOTTSCHALK.

Wages and Income in the United Kingdom since 1860. By A. L. BOWLEY, Emeritus Professor of Statistics in the University of London. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. xix, 151. $2.50.)

THE author's purpose was to bring into a coherent whole his numerous earlier studies of wages and income, with emphasis on papers now out of print or not readily accessible. Recommendation of the work to specialists would be superfluous. Students of the trends of British wages, income, and prices have long found Professor Bowley's writings outstanding sources of information. The reader who is not acquainted with statistical techniques may have difficulty in viewing the volume as a "coherent whole", especially unless he keeps in mind the author's statement that the essence of his studies is not the obtaining of absolute figures but the measuring of changes. The linking of relatives for tracing the trends of British wages and prices (for the volume deals with real as well as money wages) gives comparatively adequate results because of the comparative homogeneity and the limited area of the United Kingdom. The book is much more than a compilation of statistics, for the author brings to bear his wide knowledge and mature judgment on such important subjects as earnings and needs, labor costs, and shifts in occupations and industries.

It is surprising that so eminent a statistician as Professor Bowley has used ambiguous terms in his tables, the meaning of which can be ascertained only by careful reading of the text. Many of the tabulations standing alone might mean either rates, or hourly earnings, or daily earnings, or full-time weekly or annual earnings, or the actual averages of weekly or of annual earnings when account is taken of part time and overtime. Most

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of the tables deal in fact with average full-time or "normal" weekly earnings. English readers may not find the terms ambiguous, but American readers are more familiar with the concept of average earnings as the actual average when the highly variable elements of part time and overtime are taken into account.

Most readers will probably be mainly interested in the general discussions and in the more generalized tables, such as those on pages 6 and 94, giving the long-term trends of wages and other forms of income. These two tables bring out, for example, the significant fact that there was an increasing disparity before the World War in the classes of income. Money wages per worker increased less than one fifth from the average of the years 1901-1905 to 1913; while the national per capita income during the same period increased more than one third.

Washington, D. C. WITT BOWDEN.

Charles Darwin: A Portrait. By GEOFFREY WEST. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1938. Pp. xiv, 359. $3.50.)

MR. West, an English writer, has brought to the portrayal of Darwin's life an excellent literary style, a dispassionate freshness of approach, and an avowed purpose as a biographer to present Darwin the man for the better understanding of his work. Such an account is useful, for while more than a dozen lives of Darwin have appeared since 1882, most of the more recent ones seem to have been written with the idea that the reader needed only to have certain aspects of his work or his personality illuminated. Gamaliel Bradford's *Darwin,* for example, is a study of the man's personality, not of his work. The subtitle of Henshaw Ward's *Darwin: The Man and his Warfare* gives a clue to its emphasis. To many persons today, however, Darwin's name has almost mythological vagueness, and the contentions of the nineteenth century have little emotional significance. Readers should value this new biography for its clarity, its striving for historical accuracy, and above all for its judicial quality.

The Darwin of this study is a very human personality profoundly influenced by his environment and by his inheritance, especially that derived from his grandfather, Erasmus Darwin. Mr. West makes the reader live Darwin's life along with him, as Darwin shifts seemingly by chance from a medical to a theological career, only to have the preparation for the latter broken off by an opportunity to pursue a hobby as naturalist on the *Beagle* and so to find his life work. Despite the rigid limitations imposed by his ill-health he persisted throughout the rest of his life with his endless observations and his careful writing. His intellectual integrity gradually forced him, by the overwhelming pressure of the facts he observed, to uphold theories of evolution, of the struggle for existence, and of natural selection, which had been foreign to his views of life. *The Origin of Species* was a

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preliminary statement written rapidly to support the priority of his theories over Wallace's; but a lifetime was too short for the great work. As Mr. West traces the stages of Darwin's thinking, it becomes the work of a man gifted with courage, patience, and amazing powers of observation. The author and the reader alike find Darwin humanly great.

The final chapter, "The Fragmentary Man", is an excellent sketch in fifteen pages of the importance of Darwin's work and its limitations as various critics and historians have seen them during these sixty years. His biographer's conclusion is that Darwin's ultimate and enduring greatness is as a man.

This portrait should be useful as "collateral reading" in the colleges for scientific and nonscientific students alike, both for the importance of its subject and for the temperate and impartial use Mr. West has made of the sources in print. The extent of the bibliography bears testimony to his thoroughness.

Goucher College. DOROTHY STIMSON.

Norway and the Nobel Peace Prize. By OSCAR J. FALNES. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1938. Pp. xii, 332. $3.50.)

IT may at first seem anomalous that a Swedish industrialist, the inventor of dynamite, should become the founder of a peace prize to be administered by the Norwegian *storting*. Alfred Nobel came by his scientific interest naturally. His father, Emmanuel, had developed underwater mines for Czar Nicholas II and had experimented dangerously with nitroglycerine. Professor Falnes's book explains how Nobel came to make Norway the instrument for carrying out his ideas of promoting peace and how the *storting* later administered his will. But it does more; it provides a carefully documented account of Norway's peace movement from the Swedish-Norwegian crisis of 1895 to the postwar period. Nobel's own skepticism was expressed when he said: "The savants will write excellent volumes. There will be laureates. But wars will continue just the same until the force of circumstances renders them impossible" (p. 11). His hope was apparently for some sort of collective security, a general alliance against the first aggressor. The efforts of Björnson, Norwegian *litterateur* and peace advocate, attracted his interest. But the tension produced by the crisis of 1895 was a powerful factor in explaining Nobel's choice. The nineties were also the years of greatest momentum for Norway's peace movement. When Nobel's will was published in 1897, London, Washington, and St. Petersburg were showing active interest in peace and arbitration.

The first peace prizes were awarded in 1901. Up to 1905 Norway had no foreign minister, but her *storting* had its "Peace Union" and joined in interparliamentary efforts in Europe. Independence in 1905 did not check the work of Norway's Nobel Committee. Halvdan Koht, now foreign

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minister of Norway, was an ardent nationalist before 1905 and a consistent worker for peace always. Through the Nobel Institute and Frederick Stang neutral Norway has accepted a responsibility for restoring international co-operation among scholars since the close of the World War. The Nobel Foundation, through its peace prize and in other ways brought out in this volume, has labored for international amity in a world quite different from that envisaged by Nobel. Despite the dark outlook, says the author, "logic and history nevertheless indicate that men will continue to have use in the future for some distinction such as the Nobel Peace Prize".

Dr. Falnes's book is topical rather than chronological in arrangement and includes much biographical material, especially valuable for the non-Norwegian reader. Except for an occasional awkward transitional paragraph, the matter is presented in a clear and succinct literary style. The book promises to be for some time to come the best account in English of Norway's peace efforts and her administration of the Nobel Peace Prize.

University of California at Los Angeles. WALDEMAR WESTERGAARD.

The Secret Letters of the Last Tsar: Being the Confidential Correspondence between Nicholas II and his Mother, Dowager Empress Maria Feodorovna. Edited by EDWARD J. BING. With a Preface by R. H. Bruce Lockhart. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1938. Pp. 313. $3.50.)

IN the twenty years since his death the character and policies of the last emperor of Russia have been described by many of his contemporaries. His personality has been further revealed by the publication of his diaries and of portions of his correspondence. Mr. Bing has now made available in English nearly two hundred letters or parts of letters which passed between Nicholas II and his mother during the years 1879-1917. A part of this correspondence, that covering the years 1905-10, has been published in *Krasnyi Arkhiv,* 1927, number 3 (also available in French, *Lettres de Nicolas II et de sa mère,* Paris, 1928), and 1932, numbers 1 and 2. In the Russian edition the letters are apparently given in their entirety; in the volume under consideration they are not. The letters which Mr. Bing now gives us are notable, as Mr. Bruce Lockhart observes in his agreeable introduction, for the fact that "political events of the first magnitude are sometimes not mentioned at all" and are "sometimes dismissed rather shortly in a few sentences". These letters are not, therefore, of great value to the student of Russian history; they are a contribution to the history of the Romanov family and its connections, and they should be enjoyed by readers who like to look behind the façade of pomp and circumstance of royalty.

The ideas and personality of the last czar are, of course, important to the historian. These letters confirm the opinion that Nicholas was pious and devoted to his immediate family, that he was happiest when reviewing

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troops, hunting, or cruising on the imperial yacht; that in times of great national difficulty he was calm and confident as the servant and instrument of God; that he was bored by official business, disliked and distrusted ministers who showed initiative and independence, and rather despised those who did not. When the emperor expresses approval of an official, it is often one who has the dubious distinction of having acted with severity rather than with compassion and understanding. When the dowager empress in 1902 asks why her "dear good Nicky" chooses "to be *guided* and *deceived* by a *liar* like Bobrikoff", the czar asks her to remember "what a row the Germans kicked up in Papa's lifetime in the Baltic Provinces—yet in a few years a strong and steady hand brought complete appeasement".

Nicholas explains somewhat apologetically why he signed the Manifesto of October 17. "There was", he writes, "no other way out than to cross oneself and give what every one was asking for." Later, he explains that the righteous anger of loyal people flared up in Jewish pogroms "because nine-tenths of the trouble-makers are Jews". The description of the assassination of Stolypin, which occurred in the czar's presence, is as unemotional as an account of a review of troops and contains no comment on the public service of the victim or the police connections of the assassin. The dowager empress's comment was much more forthright. The letters touch briefly on the Russo-Japanese War, the Bosnian crisis, and the Balkan wars but not on the diplomatic crisis of 1914.

Mr. Bing, in accordance with his intention to refrain from giving the book a scientific character, makes no reference to relevant works or sources; his editorial notes are few, informal, and very brief. Insofar as it is possible to judge by comparison with the letters available elsewhere, he has made a good selection. Omissions, whether a sentence, a paragraph, or several paragraphs, are not indicated. A summary of the omitted sections or the conventional sign of omission might have prevented misunderstanding in certain cases without unduly distressing the unscientific reader to whom this book is addressed.

Stanford University. H. H. Fisher.

Friedrich Naumann: Der Mann, das Werk, die Zeit. Von Theodor Heuss. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1937. Pp. xii, 751. 9.60 M.)

The subject of this biography belongs not only to a past generation but to an epoch that has passed and gone. Naumann's active life began with the advent of the young kaiser, with whose social and political ideals he early associated himself, and down to 1908 he continued to entertain a somewhat naïve faith in the compatibility of democracy and the empire (see *Democratie und Kaisertum,* 1900). Although at no time vouchsafed the

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role of political leadership, he was a pioneer in social welfare and a great moral force, especially with the youth and the masses.

Naumann was of German intellectual and French Huguenot stock in which theology, pedagogy, and medicine were major interests. The son of an Evangelical pastor, he studied theology, which his highly sensitive nature soon led him to translate into applied Christianity. He organized the Evangelical Labor Union, built up the workmen's library at Göttingen, edited the weekly journal *Die Hilfe,* and founded the National Social Union (Nationalsocialen Verein). Elected to the reichstag in 1908, he naturally associated himself with the liberal group, championed parliamentary government, and broke many a lance against Prussian conservatism and the Social Democrats. He was critical of Bülow's overconfidence and shared with Barth, whose associations with Bryce and other British Liberals is well known, a strong sympathy for England. Although carried away for a time by the emperor's naval propaganda, his sanity and sense of fitness revolted against the stupid "deutsche-russische-fransözische Coalition überwindet Briten" thesis of Niemann's *Der Weltkrieg.* As he got deeper into the economic and social problems of the day, he also got further away from his early religious views and, under the influence of Max Weber and Rudolf Sohms, drew closer to Marx and socialism. The ablest orator of his day, he became an inspired missionary to the proletariat. He took part in framing the Weimar Constitution and bitterly opposed the signing of the Treaty of Versailles.

Paradoxical though it seems, the Nazis have found in this ardent champion of toleration and freedom of conscience the germs of much of their own philosophy. Naumann's concept of the *Volksstaat,* as an all-powerful state based on service and social justice, implies unquestioned fidelity to the nation (Volk) even in its darkest hours. The sacrifices involved must be willingly given. "National Sozial zu sein ist kein Geschäft es ist ein Opfer". Here we have the essence of the totalitarian state. Furthermore, Naumann's *Volksstaat* involved, as a matter of course, the unity of all Germans in one political state. He was, as his biographer puts it, *Gross Deutscher.* His views on *Mitteleuropa* reflect the historical realism and the militant nationalism of Treitschke and harmonize closely with those of Hitler.

Written by his onetime secretary, intimate friend, and co-worker, Theodor Heuss, to whom the family papers and other personal records were freely accessible, the biography is remarkable for its penetrating understanding of the spiritual and inner forces that shaped Naumann's life and work. At the same time there is a commendable appreciation of their relationship to the larger movements of contemporary German history, and the volume throws much light not only on religious, educational, and other social

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problems of the period but also on foreign relations. The style is at times cumbersome and unnecessarily involved, even to the extent of obscuring the author's sympathetic appraisal of Naumann's social philosophy, which is, in the opinion of the reviewer, a distinguishing feature of this excellent biography.

The University of Pennsylvania. WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH.

British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898-1914. Volume X, Part II, *The Last Years of Peace.* Edited by G. P. GOOCH and HAROLD TEMPERLEY, with the assistance of LILLIAN M. PENSON. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; New York: British Library of Information. 1938. Pp. lx, 921. $5.25.)

THE first half of this valuable volume makes clear the complicated tangle of negotiations which finally resulted in the initialing of the Anglo-German Bagdad Railway Agreement on June 15, 1914. By it the Bagdad Railway relinquished the concession to build an extension from Bagdad to Basra, admitted two British directors to the company, and accepted arrangements assuring the British political domination in the Persian Gulf and control of navigation improvements in the Shatt-el-Arab. In return, England withdrew her opposition to the Bagdad Railway and to an increase of the Turkish customs from 11 to 15 per cent and promised German participation in a new Inchcape company for navigation of the Tigris and Euphrates. There were numerous other minor provisions, with a reasonable give-and-take worked out amicably by the two experts, Alwyn Parker and Richard Kühlmann. The negotiations dragged on for nearly four years because there were so many interdependent conventions which had to be arranged and signed. England, by the Triple Entente agreement of 1907, had to get the consent of France and Russia and had to make preliminary conventions with Turkey. Turkey in turn had to agree with Germany for the modification of the Bagdad Railway concession. France, Russia, and Italy, while the getting seemed to be good, pressed Turkey for railroad concessions to themselves. And Turkey, as always, was suspicious, dilatory, obstinate, and divided in counsels. As a result, before all the necessary Turco-German negotiations were completed, the World War intervened to wreck the initialed Anglo-German agreement, which might have gone far to improve the relations between the two countries.

Parallel with these negotiations went steps for a new Anglo-German agreement in regard to the Portuguese colonies, which was finally initialed on October 20, 1913. It provided among other things for combining into one document the three secret documents of the 1898 treaty for the contingent partition of the Portuguese colonies and for dropping Timor out of the agreement because Australia would be excited at the possibility that Germany might acquire this little island. In this whole question, unlike that

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of the Bagdad Railway, the fatal stumbling block to final signature was difference of view in regard to publication. Sir Edward Grey wanted to publish the new treaty, but Germany did not.

In the last third of the volume are gathered together various interesting diplomatic odds and ends of the last years of peace: the withdrawal of British ships from the Mediterranean and the well-known Grey-Cambon exchange of letters in November, 1912; the futile negotiations for an Anglo-Italian pact, 1912-14, for securing the status quo in the Mediterranean; Anglo-German naval relations subsequent to the Haldane Mission, including Churchill's "naval holiday" proposal and Grey's refusal to let him go to the Kiel Regatta to talk with Tirpitz, and excellent reports on the German navy by the British naval attaché in Berlin; the Russo-German press feud started by the *Kölnische Zeitung* article in March, 1914; the secret Anglo-Russian naval negotiations and their mysterious disclosure in the *Berliner Tageblatt,* which Grey thought "shows serious leakage in Paris", but which really came from Siebert in London; the Arab national movement; and some other interesting matters.

Messrs. Gooch and Temperley, as well as Miss Penson, are to be greatly congratulated on the admirable way they have edited and brought to conclusion the main part of this invaluable material for prewar history. A supplementary twelfth volume will contain a general index, a chronological table, and some documents omitted in or unavailable for earlier volumes.

Harvard University. SIDNEY B. FAY.

Before the War: Studies in Diplomacy. By G. P. GOOCH. Volume II, *The Coming of the Storm.* (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1938. Pp. viii, 447. $4.00.)

IN this volume Mr. Gooch continues to study the policies of individual statesmen and to avoid a conventional narrative of events, with the same merits and disadvantages noted in the review of the first volume (*Am. Hist. Rev.,* XLI, 748-51). Though attractively written, both volumes will appeal to the specialist rather than to the "general reader"; with their completion there is little left to be said about prewar diplomacy.

Although Mr. Gooch does not see Sir Edward Grey through the spectacles of Hermann Lutz or Count Montgelas, he recognizes that his compatriot sometimes applied different standards to different countries, as when he protested against the annexation of Bosnia but did not against the seizure of Tripoli (p. 95), and that he "deliberately misled his countrymen" about the Anglo-Russian naval negotiations in June, 1914 (p. 116). Grey is also criticized for failing to recognize the psychological effect of the preparation of detailed schemes of military and naval co-operation (p. 115). He was "free from the almost neurotic Germanophobia of [Sir Eyre] Crowe" (p. 34), but he did not trust the German government, except Bethmann, and

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"seemed to doubt whether the Germans were genuinely good people" (p. 81). Nevertheless, he tried to work with Germany—within the limits imposed by the friendships with France and Russia. Mr. Gooch does not offer a solution of Grey's problem but lets the record speak for itself.

Perhaps the greatest contrast between Grey and Poincaré was that whereas the Englishman preferred understatement, the Frenchman "never minced his words" (p. 174). Inspired at all times by "sleepless suspicions" of Germany (p. 159), Poincaré wished to know exactly where he stood with Grey and Sazonov, and he spent most of the year 1912 trying to find the answer; he thought he had found it in the Grey-Cambon letters of November, 1912, but French and British interpretations were different (p. 168). Mr. Gooch does not believe that at any time Poincaré "desired or worked for war" (p. 197); indeed he earned German recognition for his attempts to prevent and restrict the Balkan conflagration. But, unlike his predecessors, "he admitted the eventuality of a general war about Balkan questions" (p. 199).

For Bethmann as an honest man struggling with forces beyond his control, notably Tirpitz, Mr. Gooch has always manifested a certain sympathy. The narrative indeed leaves the impression that the German chancellor, responsible only to his master, enjoyed less liberty of action than Grey or Poincaré, who had to consider their parliaments. In any case, it seems exaggerated to say that "German policy, except in regard to the fleet, was not shaped by the Kaiser" (p. 256). Certainly on the fateful July 5, 1914, it was William II who formulated the German attitude towards Austria and Serbia and then informed Bethmann of it. Mr. Gooch, in fact, says only that Bethmann "expressed his assent" (p. 270), after the *fait accompli*. Mr. Gooch also quotes with apparent approval Otto Hammann's statement that after Sarajevo Bethmann "recognized that if it came to war, England would fight against us" (p. 274). But he acted otherwise down to July 27, 1914. Even after that date "the sincerity of his desire to avert a conflict was as obvious as *his determination to keep the ring for his ally*" (p. 277; italics are the reviewer's). Could any more damning verdict be passed? Mr. Gooch's conclusion is that there is "little excuse" for Bethmann's stumbling into a conflict "when the best cards were in the hands of the foe" (p. 286).

The picture of Berchtold is surprisingly friendly, for he is described as "an experienced statesman grappling with difficulties which he had done nothing to create" (p. 374), and the notion that he was a dilettante is ridiculed. For some reason there is no reference to the notorious Prochashka affair of December, 1912, in which Berchtold's press bureau apparently tried to provide an incident which might lead to war with Serbia. It is not quite correct to say that in 1914 Austria "coveted no man's territory" (p. 445), and the remark that "in taking up what he regarded as a challenge

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[the Serbian ambitions] Berchtold was speaking for his countrymen" (p. 445) is open to question. He was speaking for the ruling Germans and Magyars but hardly for the Slavs, who constituted a majority of the population.

It is Sazonov who fares most badly at Mr. Gooch's hands. Although without personal ambition, he seemed to have no scruples, particularly in dealing with Russia's allies; he was indeed "more trusted in Berlin and Rome than in Paris and London" (p. 311). Because he was constantly changing his mind and accepting one day what he had violently denounced the day before, he was greatly disliked in Downing Street and the Quai d'Orsay. The wonder is that the Triple Entente survived his ministrations. In 1914 Sazonov wanted peace, but he had "inherited a tradition from which he had neither the power nor the wish to depart" (p. 369); Russia's responsibility for the conflict "was greater than Sazonov was prepared to admit". But Mr. Gooch has never been the champion of an exclusive responsibility. All the foreign ministers in 1914 wanted peace—"but they desired other things still more" and were prepared to fight for them.

The University of Chicago. BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT.

Social and Economic History of the World War. JAMES T. SHOTWELL, General Editor. 150 volumes. (New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 1921-1937.)

"THE economic history of the postwar period is to extend to a time when the economic consequences of the war shall reach an equilibrium." This statement was written in 1921 by Friederich von Wieser, the Austrian economist, in a circular letter to collaborators in this great history of the World War. For fifteen years thereafter scholars of world reputation and ministers of cabinet rank worked under the general guidance of Professor Shotwell in this co-operative intellectual enterprise comparable in magnitude to the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica.* Whether the equilibrium that Wieser, like all classical economists, believed must come in the long run has arrived, we cannot say. But if it has come, then, by an ironic turn, the equilibrium is the crystallization of war economy itself. That which was launched as a study of the social and economic structure of the world in an abnormal phase—the phase of war—has become an analysis of the structure of a normal society of the nineteen thirties. Even the two volumes of the American series—Clark's masterful analysis of the cost of the war in America and Hines's account of the war history of American railways—have become strangely contemporary as the problem of social income in the large is set before the American people and as the American railroads reach their financial impasse.

Each national series was planned and executed by a national editorial committee. Among the 150 volumes of the completed series there is at

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least one volume each for every prewar European country except Switzerland, Portugal, and Spain. The British series was pragmatically conceived; the list of twenty-four titles, taken together, does not make a systematic array. There are volumes on *The Industries of the Clyde Valley* and on the coal and metal industries, but there is nothing as comprehensive as Fontaine's *L'industrie française pendant la guerre.* Keith's volume on war government in the Dominions, Lloyd's on *Experiments in State Control at the War Office and the Ministry of Food,* Henderson's *Cotton Control Board,* together with Dearle's *Dictionary of Official War-Time Organizations,* do not begin to match in comprehensiveness Redlich's work on Austrian war government or Renouvin's on French. A volume that was to have been written by Professor W. G. S. Adams might perhaps have filled this gap. But even in their internal style the British volumes are specific rather than systematic. This is true, for instance, of Hirst's summary of the consequences of the war to Britain.

Compared with the British series, the Austrian is rigidly disciplined, ordered, centralized. There is no deviation toward any provincial, local interest. Piedmont gets a volume in the Italian series, but not even Galicia or Tyrol receives equivalent recognition from Vienna. The Austrian volumes march side by side with a united front: Bibliography, Money, Government, Industry, Commerce, Food, Labor, Health; then an account of the vast plans for an economic *Mitteleuropa;* then the tragic finish—"the economic collapse of the Monarchy". This contribution to the Shotwell series is, perhaps, the last monument left by the centralist tradition of the Habsburg monarchy.

The French series is arranged, like the Austrian, on a systematic base, but it exfoliates into various individual turns of interest. There are separate war histories of seven cities, a volume on regionalism, and others on such things as supplies of wood, hydroelectric power, and "the struggle of private organizations against the high cost of living". Since it combines the features of both the British and Austrian series, the French series, quite naturally, includes almost as many volumes as the former two together.

The German series remains truncated, the full plan unachieved. Mendelssohn Bartholdy did not write the history of the German war government, and other important volumes that were in the plan have been withheld or have not been completed. The Russian series of twelve volumes, written by men of the old regime, is perhaps comparable to the Austrian as the last great enterprise of the old Russian historiography. It is not, and does not pretend to be, an account of how the Revolution came to Russia. Florinsky's masterful summarization, *The End of the Russian Empire,* does not go behind the scenes of the revolutionary movement; rather it knits together the conclusions separately established in the

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volumes on Russian agriculture, central and local government, army and economic life, and carries them on with a swinging narrative. The Italian series is noteworthy for the two carefully reasoned contributions of Signor Einaudi. There are other gems. Special mention should be made of Professor Mitrany's volume on *The Land and the Peasant in Rumania.*

What were the social and economic consequences of the war? What do the scholars and administrators mean by "costs and consequences"? It is evident that they do not all mean the same thing. According to Mendelssohn Bartholdy, the war caused Germans to lose faith in the principle of causality; according to Francis W. Hirst, the English came out of it feeling that the old truths were verified; Yovanovitch found that the wartime depopulation of Serbia saved the country from the problem of caring for a landless proletariat; in Italy, as Einaudi saw it, "the war inoculated the governing class and the people with the germ of a moral disease more destructive than the economic wastage of the war itself". The moral disease of the Italians was a liking for state paternalism. Emin Pasha saw a "moral decline" as a war consequence in Turkey, but this decline ran toward wine, women, and song, not toward the corporative state.

Kohn's "consequences" of the war in Russia consist of such items as the movement of population in Russia during the war. From Finland comes a report of mass savings during the war; "it is obvious that the economic expansion that has occurred in Finland after the War has been made possible largely by such savings". In his summary of the costs of the war to the American people, J. M. Clark wrote the best of the analyses in the whole series of the meaning of war cost, but he did not reckon into it a devastation more permanent than that which afflicted Poland or Northern France—the ruin of vast areas of prairie which were ploughed for war wheat and subsequently ruined by the dust storms.

It is not in its conceptual structure that the weight and coherence of the series are established. Wieser's editorial circular of instruction had indeed anticipated this result, for he declared that each author must express his own views. But, he went on, "facts proper must be presented in accordance with the truth, and as there is but one truth, there must be agreement on the facts presented". And strangely enough, it appears that there is agreement on the facts presented and that it is possible to follow a thread from one volume to another, picking one's way from country to country and from problem to problem, with constant enrichment.

Thus Hines's volume on American railroads leads to Salter's on Allied shipping control, which meets Clémentel's on interallied economic co-operation. The problem of unloading the ships that were loaded from the American railways appears again in the history of Bordeaux, in Cangardel on the French merchant marine, and in Pinot on French food supply.

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On the other side of the line there is Mitrany on the Rumanian peasant and Jonescu-Sisesti on Rumanian agriculture during the war, the Austrian and German volumes on food supply, and Antipa on the enemy occupation of Rumania.

It is an encyclopedia, but not an encyclopedia of destruction. That which comes to mind in going through volume after volume is not the destructiveness of war, not the conflict of nations with each other, but the conflict within each nation between the ideal of a free capitalist economy and the need for organized production, transport, and distribution. Wartime socialization, it is only too evident, was put into effect by men who were not prepared for it and did not believe in it. We know now that they paved the way for men who did believe in it as an article of faith and for whom it provided the preparation. Socially and economically, we are in the midst of a second world war. The Shotwell series was completed in time to be contemporary.

Western Reserve University. ROBERT C. BINKLEY.

Iraq: A Study in Political Development. By PHILIP WILLARD IRELAND, Department of Government, Harvard University. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. 510. $3.75.)

OF all the Arabic-speaking provinces of the defunct Ottoman Empire, Iraq, which stood far behind Syria and Lebanon culturally, socially, and economically, was the first to achieve nationhood and full sovereignty. In this unprecedented and unparalleled achievement accomplished between 1914 and 1932, when Iraq was admitted to the League of Nations, the country underwent a period of direct British control, first under military administration apparently determined to make Iraq an Indian province and then under civil administration which was followed by a period of tutelage from 1920 to 1932 as mandated territory. Most of the progress was made after 1921, when the energetic Faisal, a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad, was proclaimed king in Bagdad, once the capital of Harun al-Rashid. In the following year the constituent assembly ratified the Anglo-Iraqi treaty, and the nationalist movement toward complete independence was in full swing. This progress is the more remarkable when the three-century-old vital British interests in the Persian Gulf and bordering lands are considered. These interests involved the control of the land and air route to India, of which Iraq was considered as an outpost, the maintenance of peace in this strategic center of the Middle East, the continued expansion of British commerce, and the control of the oil-producing districts of Mesopotamia and Persia.

This remarkable story in modern political development is told in concise and accurate terms by Dr. Ireland. From beginning to end the author maintains a judicious and detached attitude, weaving his material

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skillfully and patiently into a comprehensive whole from sources which include unpublished official telegrams and memoranda, published documents and reports, English and Arabic newspapers, and personal interviews with Iraqi and British officials. A list of these sources is appended before the index. A glance at the footnotes, however, would suffice to show that ample use was not made of the Arabic sources.

The reviewer's only criticism relates to the transcription, transliteration, and reproduction of the many Arabic names and words strewn all over the pages of the book. There is hardly a page in his copy which is not marked with corrections or improvements. Hybrid words, neither English nor Arabic, may be illustrated by "Mōsul", "'Iraqīs", "Idrīss", "Assīr". The spelling of certain place names on the map does not tally with that of the text; compare Qal'a Salih (map, p. 62) with Qal'at Sālih (p. 80, l. 12). It is a pity that the author, who taught at the American University of Beirut for three years and sojourned for some time in Iraq, did not submit his manuscript to some Arab scholar before publication.

Princeton University. PHILIP K. HITTI.

The Dictionary of National Biography. Founded in 1882 by George Smith. *1922-1930.* Edited by J. R. H. WEAVER. With an Index covering the years 1901-1930 in one alphabetical series. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. xiv, 962. $10.50.)

THE authorities who decided that the volumes of the *Dictionary of National Biography* should be continued at the close of every decade were right. The biographies are becoming better and better. This volume seems to me better than the volume covering the years 1912 to 1921. That the volumes dealing with those recently dead should have more vivid and more discriminating character sketches than the earlier volumes dealing with those long since dead is to be expected. But that is not the whole story. The art of biographical delineation is perhaps improving. Not but what Thomas Fuller and Clarendon could do well by their characters. But the best modern character sketches have more psychological insight.

There are a good many biographies in this book that deserve special mention: that of Balfour by Algernon Cecil, that of Thomas Hardy by Lascelles Abercrombie, that of Milner by Basil Williams, that of W. H. Hudson by E. L. Woodward, that of Asquith by J. A. Spender, and especially that of Curzon by Harold Nicolson. The account of Houston Stewart Chamberlain by W. H. Dawson, of Lord Chaplin by E. I. Carlyle, and of Lord Cave by Lord Macmillan will interest students of modern English history. Lord Birkenhead's life by Sir Claud Schuster is written with judgment. Lord Lansdowne's life of the late Lord Lansdowne is a carefully phrased statement about a man who deserved such phrases, though a son and one restrained by the inhibitions of family dignity cannot be

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expected to give the whole picture. E. T. Charteris's account of Lord Rosebery is skillful in revealing character and particular qualities by a record of chronological action and by quotation from speeches and writings. But Charteris left much unsaid.

There are a good many historians in this volume. The readers of the *American Historical Review* will be interested in Galbraith's account of Tout and in Tait's of Kingsford. Sir George Prothero, Vinogradoff, A. L. Smith, and J. P. Gilson, all of whom will be remembered by many Americans, are here, as well as Sir James Ramsay, A. W. Ward, and W. H. Stevenson.

It is always possible to criticize a collection of biographies, and such criticism represents little more than the tastes and prejudices of the reviewer. To this reviewer the life of Morley by F. W. Hirst, that of Haldane by Elizabeth Haldane, and that of Bonar Law by Thomas Jones seem to err on the side of eulogy. The account of Lewis (later Viscount) Harcourt fails to mention the significant aspect of his character, his devotion to the political interests and fame of his father. The narrative of the career of Walter (later Viscount) Long seems to me conventional. The biographer of Sir Harry Johnston is apparently uninterested in the novels of that administrator in Africa, novels which are important to the historian. The biographer of Gertrude Bell hardly does that great lady justice and certainly does not make us realize her special personality.

As one reads over the lives in this book one is inclined to the rash generalization that engineers, businessmen, and physicians make the drabbest stories and that literary people and artists, perhaps because they have the luck to be assigned to literary biographers, make the most readable and satisfying.

Yale University. WALLACE NOTESTEIN.

Gustav Stresemann: His Diaries, Letters, and Papers. Edited and translated by ERIC SUTTON. Volume II. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. xix, 549. $6.50.)

THIS translation of the second volume of Stresemann's *Vermächtnis* is a record of the great German statesman's activities from the close of the 1924 crisis to the entry of Germany into the League of Nations on September 10, 1926. Mr. Eric Sutton has again made an excellent selection from the papers, letters, and diaries and has written an able foreword on Stresemann's foreign policy, which envisaged a radical but genuine European appeasement. The sources in this volume cover the major relations of Germany with the great powers of Europe on the basis of bilateral agreements, the Locarno Pact, the League of Nations, and the evacuation of the Rhineland by the Allied powers.

Part I is concerned with Stresemann's initiative in Europe during the

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Locarno period, the election of Hindenburg following Ebert's death, the Locarno negotiations, the Locarno diary, narrative, undiplomatic pronouncements, and letters, and the subsequent disarmament and evacuation of German occupied zones. Part II reveals Stresemann the scholar and the fighter and indicates the growing lack of internal unity in Germany against which he fought manfully. In addition the internal developments from the second Luther Cabinet to Marx are clearly indicated. Part III presents German foreign policy after Locarno and details relations between Germany and Italy, Russia, Poland, and the secondary states. This policy was to be a steady but cautious movement from the "enslavement of Versailles" to the freedom of "a partner with equal rights in the struggle for position in Europe".

In the extensive materials concerning the security negotiations may be noted the memorandum transmitted to Herriot by the German ambassador in Paris on February 9, 1925, and Stresemann's speech before a plenary session of the reichstag on May 18, 1925. These indicate the principal objectives of German policy: maintenance of peace in the west with a reconsideration of the problems of Eupen-Malmédy, the Saar, and South Tyrol; the breaking of the chains of Versailles; the alteration of the Polish corridor; the reorganization of Danzig, Memel, and Lithuania; and the rejection of Benes's two proposals covering the Czech frontiers. Stresemann's principal defense of the western pact was that he could not safeguard the Rhineland by force and therefore must do so by treaties.

In spite of violent internal opposition, Stresemann's fundamental objectives were always the long-range, not the immediate, interests of Germany. As early as 1922 he reached the conclusion that "if Europe is ever to find rest and recuperation, the only way is an understanding between Germany and France". Locarno was the cornerstone of the diplomatic structure which would establish a permanent reconciliation.

"The Epilogue" on the final conflict over Locarno raises the great question of the future of the German frontiers in the east and, in the opinion of the present writer, foreshadows the policy of the Third Reich toward these "second class frontiers". Said Stresemann, "Germans abroad, moreover, must look towards their motherland". On the colonial question he reported that Austen Chamberlain's wholly negative attitude was very unpleasant and painful.

At the time of Germany's entrance into the League, Stresemann sent to the former German crown prince brief indications of the remaining tasks which confronted German foreign policy in the immediate future. These were: the solution of the reparations question in a sense tolerable for Germany; "protection" of twelve million Germans living under the foreign yokes of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Rumania, and other foreign lands; readjustment of Germany's eastern frontiers at Danzig, "the corridor",

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and upper Silesia; and union with German Austria. Stresemann never regarded the frontiers on the east as permanent and definitely planned to annex all contiguous Germanic lands and to "protect" the great Germanic enclaves in Southeastern Europe.

Stanford University. RALPH HASWELL LUTZ.

The Dominions as Sovereign States: Their Constitutions and Governments. By ARTHUR BERRIEDALE KEITH. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. xlv, 769. $6.25.)

The Statute of Westminster and Dominion Status. By K. C. WHEARE. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. xvi, 328. $3.50.)

PROFESSOR Keith, in his long continued study of government in the British Commonwealth, has encountered in an aggravated form the difficulty that confronts all writers who attempt to describe living political systems in constant change. His subject has been in a state of such rapid flux that he has had to resort to prefaces to put his books abreast of the movement of events and to footnotes to his prefaces to do the same for the prefaces. He begins the preface to the latest of a series of volumes which have followed one another in swift succession with a hopeful intimation that quieter times are ahead, that no events are likely to occur in the near future which will disturb the essential principles affecting the place of the Dominions in the Commonwealth. Doubts are aroused, however, by his reference to imperial problems that remain unsolved. He has Ireland, and also South Africa, in mind when he writes: "If no place can be found in a British Commonwealth for republics, then the enduring character of the Commonwealth may well be doubted". Of the immensely complex problem of India no solution, he tells us, is even in sight.

The present volume follows in the main the plan of the author's *Constitutional Law of the British Dominions* (1933), from which much material has been taken without change, and is really a generous revision and amplification of the latter in the light of developments since it was written. The breadth and depth of Professor Keith's knowledge are notorious. He has to deal with complex and controversial legal issues, especially in the field of intra-Commonwealth relations, and on some of them final judgment cannot be passed. Defying precedent, the Commonwealth does not lend itself to accurate description in the familiar terms of political science, and if questions framed in those terms are asked, the facts as a rule do not justify unqualified answers. Consider, for example, the doctrine of the indivisible crown, to which it appears that Professor Keith on the whole adheres, in opposition to General Hertzog and others who assert that the crown is divided. Events relating to the abdication of Edward VIII would seem to support this latter contention. Under South African law

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there was a brief period—from Edward VIII's signature of the instrument of abdication on December 10, 1936, till the giving of his assent to His Majesty's Declaration of Abdication Act on December 11—when George VI was king in the Union of South Africa, though Edward VIII was still reigning everywhere else in the Empire; and by the law of the Irish Free State Edward VIII did not cease to be king there till December 12! Two kings reigning simultaneously within the Commonwealth put a severe strain, to say the least, on the doctrine of the indivisible crown. But on the other hand the legislative supremacy of the parliament of the United Kingdom, despite constitutional limitations in its relation to the Dominions, is inconsistent with the principle of a divided crown.

Are the Dominions sovereign states in the eyes of international law? After considering this question from the points of view of diplomatic intercourse with foreign states, treaty making, recognition of foreign governments, the right to declare war, and the right to remain neutral in a British war, the author concludes that "in a large sense the Dominions are really and unquestionably States of international law. . . . That they possess the full plenitude of international status enjoyed, for instance, by France or Germany need not be asserted, nor is it necessary for practical purposes that they should seek to claim it" (pp. 54-55).

Professor Keith naturally has much to say about the Statute of Westminster, on which Mr. Wheare has written a full and valuable commentary. The latter, adhering to the familiar distinction between law and convention, undertakes to show the significance of the statute in the collection of rules which define Dominion status and its relations to conventional rules, the most important of which were declared at the imperial conferences of 1926 and 1930. Our authors agree in the main as to the legal effects of the Statute of Westminster. Mr. Wheare, however, is not quite so positive as Professor Keith that it cannot be amended by a Dominion parliament (*cf.* Wheare, p. 245; Keith, pp. 75, 122). He would probably have been better advised to recognize that the celebrated declaration of equality of status made by the Imperial Conference of 1926, which seemingly owed its formulation to that metaphysical politician, Lord Balfour, was untrue. Professor Keith says as much, though in more courteous diction, when he remarks that it was "proleptic". Mr. Wheare talks about the "convention" of equality, but a convention is a rule that is observed, though not legally enforced, and the equality of the Dominions and the United Kingdom was by no means fully observed, as Mr. Wheare is very well aware, in 1926. His book is an outgrowth of his earlier study, *The Statute of Westminster, 1931,* published in 1933.

Columbia University. R. L. SCHUYLER.

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The House that Hitler Built. By STEPHEN H. ROBERTS, Challis Professor of Modern History, University of Sydney. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1938. Pp. xii, 380. $3.00.)

WHEN Professor Roberts's volume was first published about a year ago it was given a very generous reception by the press and the public on both sides of the Atlantic. This acclaim was largely justified by the author's intimate knowledge of modern Germany, the objectivity of his approach, the breadth of the discussion, and the attractive and informal manner in which he deals with even the most intricate and complex problems. Professor Roberts states modestly that his book was written "primarily for the man-in-the-street". The volume indeed contains no startling revelations about National Socialist Germany, but it fulfills admirably its purpose as a reliable general guide through "The House that Hitler Built". It is not necessary to agree with every one of Professor Roberts's interpretations in order to enjoy his volume and profit from it.

As a historian, the author seems to be particularly interested in the social and cultural developments under the National Socialist regime, and his chapters devoted to the growth of the Hitler movement, especially those dealing with the organization of the party, will be read with particular interest. The author has used the felicitous device of frequently enlivening his narrative with illuminating characterizations of the men who played an important part in the fortunes of National Socialism. This method not only makes the volume eminently readable but also sheds no little light on the inner process of the formation of National Socialist policies.

The manner in which Professor Roberts deals with economic problems is somewhat less satisfactory, for it is impossible to present German economics adequately without reference to the international economic trends of the depression and postdepression era. The pertinent chapters, moreover, contain a number of general statements that would seem to be contradicted by well-known facts. The author states, for instance, that "all pre-existing associations of employers were abolished" (p. 222), while as a matter of fact they were merely "co-ordinated" and reorganized, first by the Law of February 27, 1934, and then by the Decree of November 27, 1934, establishing the *Reichswirtschaftskammer,* an extremely important organization of business which, surprisingly enough, Professor Roberts does not even mention. It is also incorrect to say that the *Arbeitsfront* as it exists today "was constituted by the *Law for the organization of National Labor* dated January 20, 1934" (p. 218). This law had nothing to do with the constitution of the *Arbeitsfront,* although it concerned itself, as Professor Roberts points out, with the relations between employers and workers. The author is again in error when he writes that no figures as to the number of trials before the "courts of honor" are available (p. 221). Such data were published in the *Jahrbuch für nationalsozialistische Wirtschaft,*

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edited by Dr. Otto Mönckmeier, while summaries of cases appear regularly in *Arbeitsrechts-Sammlung*.

The closing section of Professor Roberts's volume is devoted to "Hitlerism and the World". He reaches the gloomy conclusion that "Hitlerism cannot achieve its aims without war". This alarming forecast should not, perhaps, be taken too literally, for several of the author's categorical assertions about the future have already been belied by the events of recent months, for instance, his contentions that "Russia, France, and Czecho-Slovakia are closer friends than ever" (p. 306) and that "if Germany persists in wanting to absorb the Sudeten Deutsche, it means war" (p. 331). The past is the historian's legitimate field. Why should he mar a useful volume by questionable prophecies, especially if he believes, as Professor Roberts does, that "speculation in futures in eastern Europe is a singularly fruitless occupation" (p. 340), a dictum whose wisdom is not limited to eastern Europe?

Columbia University. MICHAEL T. FLORINSKY.

FAR EASTERN HISTORY

China's First Unifier: A Study of the Ch'in Dynasty as seen in the Life of Li Ssŭ, 280?-208 B. C. By DERK BODDE. [Sinica Leidensia, edidit Institutum Sinologicum Lugduno-Batavum.] (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1938. Pp. viii, 270. 10 gld.)

IN the year 221 B. C. what is now China was unified for the first time under a single ruler, who took the unprecedented title, Ch'in Shih Huang-ti, literally, First Sovereign Emperor of the Ch'in Dynasty. Throughout his reign, Li Ssu, the subject of this monograph, held important posts, finally rising to be the chief minister. The unification of previously disunited and hostile states, brought about by Li Ssu, endured for four centuries. Even the seven years of rebellion just after the first emperor's death failed to shake this unity, and ever since, China has usually remained a single state. Li Ssu may thus well claim to be one of the world's great statesmen. The plan of administration which he substituted for the previous feudal system has been fundamentally that employed in China ever since. Those dynasties that attempted to reintroduce feudalism either fell or so modified their feudalism that it became a variety of the more centralized system introduced by him. He invented most of the machinery involved in this system and made it universal—in itself a magnificent achievement.

Yet Li Ssu has been among the most cordially hated of China's statesmen. Unification was achieved only by intrigue and ruthless warfare, and he himself concocted many of the plots that led to the Ch'in conquest, although he did no fighting. The Han dynasty, which succeeded to power and under which the definitive histories were written, magnified the

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Ch'in errors. Li Ssu, moreover, made a capital mistake: in unifying the country, he not only established uniform measures and weights, a uniform coinage, uniform laws, and a standard system of writing; he also attempted an intellectual unification, burning all private copies of the country's most prized literary works and executing those who taught them privately, because these books were quoted as authorities in criticism of the Ch'in reforms. Li Ssu was not opposed to literature or learning. He himself was a highly educated man and a forceful writer; he maintained seventy learned men at court as official advisers, with a library containing the books prohibited to the public. The Han dynasty, however, so vilified Li Ssu and the first emperor that the "burning of the books" came to be regarded as the most terrible crime in history.

Dr. Bodde's work falls naturally into two parts. In the first four chapters he translates, in a thoroughly capable fashion, all the extant primary source material for Li Ssu's life. Then he distinguishes, by approved grammatical and stylistic methods, the third century documents embedded in this material, separating them from later additions. This is itself an important contribution. The remaining chapters are devoted to Li Ssu and his achievements. In addition to what I have mentioned there are interesting side discussions—a study of the first emperor's character, the previous history of his title, the previous development of Li Ssu's administrative system, and a very good discussion of the philosophical background out of which he arose.

This monograph is an excellent piece of scholarship. I wish to protest, however, against Dr. Bodde's undue acceptance of the usual Confucian condemnation of Li Ssu. No great conqueror or his minister has been an example of virtue. Talleyrand was hardly a moral paragon, yet he deserves high praise. To say that Li Ssu was "lacking in moral principles" is too severe. The very characteristics of his rule—force, system, and efficiency—are far from being immoral. Even his worst deeds, the murder of the philosopher Han Fei and the illegal change in the succession, may have their defense. Every strong ruler has found himself forced to do things he would rather not do. In Chinese history, when two persons are mentioned as responsible for a deed, the lesser person is frequently the one who has taken the lead and the greater one the person who has lent his support but may have taken no active part. I suspect that Han Fei's death was due almost entirely to the machinations of Yao Chia. Concerning the change in the succession Dr. Bodde has himself shown that we know nothing of Li Ssu's part in it, for the material incriminating him is a later forgery. Li Ssu deserves to be rescued from the cloud of obloquy that has enveloped him.

Duke University. HOMER H. DUBS.

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The History of the Former Han Dynasty. By PAN KU. Volume I, First Division, *The Imperial Annals, Chapters I-V*. A Critical Translation with Annotations by HOMER H. DUBS, Acting Professor of Philosophy in Duke University, with the collaboration of JEN T'AI and P'AN LO-CHI. [The American Council of Learned Societies.] (Baltimore: Waverly Press. 1938. Pp. xiii, 339. $3.00.)

CHINA, with an authentic history of almost thirty-five hundred years, can boast of the longest continuous civilization in the world today, and her historical records are undoubtedly more voluminous and detailed than those of any other civilization of comparable standing. Of these records the twenty-four dynastic histories are easily the most important, so that this translation of the first five chapters of the second of these histories, that of the Former Han dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 23), is an outstanding event not only for American sinology but also for American historiography.

The Han was one of the greatest Chinese dynasties, both politically and culturally, and noted as that in which Confucianism, the examination system, and other characteristic features of Chinese civilization first became firmly established. In the present volume (narrating events from 209 to 141 B.C.) the reader will find a wealth of fascinating material, whether he be interested in social institutions, political intrigue, folklore, or literature.

Two succeeding volumes will complete the translation of the remaining seven chapters of the imperial annals, comprising the first section of the *History of the Former Han Dynasty;* a fourth volume will give the life of its author, Pan Ku (A.D. 32-92), together with a critical account of the text and its chief commentators; and a fifth will be a combined index and glossary of all names occurring in the text. It is to be hoped that this colossal work of translation will not stop with the imperial annals but will continue through the remaining three sections of the *History of the Former Han Dynasty,* consisting of chronological tables, essays on economics, literature, etc., and biographies of men prominent during that dynasty.

Among the outstanding features of the present volume are: (1) inclusion of the original Chinese text with the English translation, making comparison easy for the specialist; (2) introductory chapters by Professor Dubs preceding each chapter of translation, giving admirable summaries of the events described therein together with much collateral material drawn from other parts of the history; (3) numerous scholarly and valuable appendixes; (4) detailed footnotes, which are often direct translations of the remarks of the Chinese commentators, with additional comments by Professor Dubs; (5) an excellent map of China during the early Han dynasty. As for the translation itself, it is accurate and exceedingly close to the text. Indeed, the English rendering might at times have gained in smoothness and ease if more freedom from the original had been allowed, but many scholars will

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probably feel that the accuracy thus gained justifies such literalness. Occasionally, as in almost any translation of a Chinese text, objections may be raised to certain renderings, but these are neither numerous nor important.

The book as a whole reflects great credit on its financial sponsors, the American Council of Learned Societies and the Carnegie Corporation of New York, and on its Chinese collaborators, Messrs. Jen T'ai and P'an Lo-chi. On the part of Professor Dubs himself it shows great scholarship and perseverance, and together with his earlier works, *Hsüntze, the Moulder of Ancient Confucianism* and *The Works of Hsüntze,* places him in the front rank of Western sinologues. We shall look forward with interest to the appearance of the remaining four volumes.

University of Pennsylvania. DERK BODDE.

Nadir Shah: A Critical Study based mainly upon Contemporary Sources. By L. LOCKHART. With a Foreword by Sir E. Denison Ross. (London: Luzac and Company. 1938. Pp. xv, 344. 21*s.*)

ONE of the significant trends of recent historical research is the application of Western scientific methods to the study of Asiatic countries. European historians are increasingly acknowledging the place occupied by Asia, as complementing Europe, and are endeavoring to gain a broader and more balanced view of history. Under these circumstances it seems singular that one of the most important characters of Asiatic history, Nadir Shah, should have been almost neglected until Dr. Lockhart filled this gap by his scholarly, well-documented study.

Son of a shepherd, Nadir became the mightiest monarch of Asia and reforged the greatness of Persia. Persia, indeed, after a period of splendor and power under Abbas the Great, had fallen into a state of chaos at the turn of the eighteenth century. Overrun by Afghans and Turks, defeated by Russia, with revolt and insubordination rife, the country under the later Safavi dynasty appeared to be disintegrating. Shah Sultan Husayn, the last monarch of this line who reigned undisturbed, was meek, gentle, religious, uxorious, and incapable. Mahmud and Tahmasp, his successors, remained the pawns of warring generals. Under these conditions a man with a Napoleonic temperament and a well-drilled force under his command was bound to reach supreme power, and such a man was Nadir. The story of his rise, a story set against a background of incredible anarchy, is told with painstaking accuracy by Mr. Lockhart, who attempts to unravel the threads of rebellion, treachery, and intrigue.

Once in power Nadir defeated the Turks in a brilliant campaign, thereby preventing a Turkish attack on Russia during the War of the Polish Succession. But Nadir's main undertaking was his invasion of India. He defeated the emperor of the decaying Mogul Empire at Karnal in 1739 and

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occupied Delhi. The author fails to bring out the bearing of this blow on the Anglo-French struggle for India.

In his later years Nadir Shah's character deteriorated, taxation became crushing, and in 1747 he met his death at the hands of his own officers. The author is naturally tempted into a comparison of Nadir's military and administrative abilities with those of Tamerlane, Napoleon, and Frederick the Great. By the very nature of its subject, the book tends to become essentially a narrative of campaigns. More stress on the peaceful activities of Nadir would have been desirable.

Originally a University of London Ph.D. thesis, this study has been expanded into a thorough and comprehensive piece of work, critical in scholarship, rich in detail, and interpretative in presentation. Its value, both as a completed study and as a pioneer trail blazer for other scholars, is greatly enhanced by its illustrations, excellent maps, explanatory notes on chronology and transliteration, and appendixes (on the British in Persia, 1729-47, on Nadir Shah's genealogy, and on the nature of the special bibliographical materials). Not only is there an extensive select critical bibliography, but there are also an index of sources and an index to the volume. The complicated transliteration of Persian and Arabic names is somewhat misleading.

University of California at Los Angeles. A. LOBANOV-ROSTOVSKY.

The Invasion of China by the Western World. By E. R. HUGHES, Reader in Chinese Religion and Philosophy in the University of Oxford. [The Pioneer Histories.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. xvi, 323. $3.50.)

DURING the greater part of the last one hundred and fifty years the prevailing attitude of the Chinese towards Westerners has been one of suspicion. The humiliating experiences arising from two wars with the Western powers convinced the Chinese that the power of the West was based on its technical knowledge and skill. These could be acquired, many believed, by a sort of trick, without disturbing the essential basis of Chinese civilization. Only a few rather lonely scholars realized that the accomplishments of the West were solidly based upon an experimental science in the service of a vigorous and expanding industrial economy. Following the advent of the Republic, Westernization became a fad zealously pursued by the young literati and the students trained in the West. The purely Chinese was despised because it was Chinese. This unthinking attitude has now given way to the sober realization that China must slowly create out of her own peculiar civilization a synthesis with Western culture.

It is this evolution of the Chinese attitude towards the Westernization of their civilization, rather than a factual and chronological story of the

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penetration of Western science and technology into China, which Professor Hughes has traced. His method has been to take the major channels through which this cultural invasion has flowed and to analyze the cumulative effects it has had upon the Chinese. His work pioneers in the fascinating but exceedingly difficult field of cultural change in modern China, and, because of this, we should be much more concerned with its evident virtues than with its defects and unduly large number of careless factual errors. Many chapters have passages of incisive and illuminating characterizations of the men and forces which have been caught in the clash of the two civilizations.

The reviewer differs from the author regarding certain events in China's intellectual development. For instance, it does not seem probable that the Jesuits purposely gave Ricci his excellent scientific training in order that his approach to the mandarinate would be facilitated. Ricci found after many years of bitter experience in the South that the orthodox missionary approach did not work, whereas the exhibition of his learning did. Neither does it seem adequate to attribute the downfall of the Manchus to the notion that the Chinese, in the face of threat of partition by the powers, "turned with an open mind to anything and everything from the West" and in consequence swept out the Manchus as a sort of house cleaning in preparation for Westernization. It would seem better to have entitled the final chapter "Shanghai To-day" rather than "China To-day", because it certainly is the frivolous and sycophantic Westernized young Chinese middle class of that very un-Chinese city which is described.

Finally, this work, valuable as its pioneer nature makes it, is still not a book for which the historian will find much use. It leaves unsatisfied the need for a chronological and factual account of the intellectual penetration of Western ideas into China. In it we do have, however, our first well-developed picture of the changing temper of the Chinese mind towards the omnipresent and ever-pressing intellectual invasion of the West, which undoubtedly has been a most potent force in producing the phenomena of modern China.

Duke University. THOMAS E. LA FARGUE.

AMERICAN HISTORY

The Founding of American Civilization: The Middle Colonies. By THOMAS JEFFERSON WERTENBAKER, Edwards Professor of American History, Princeton University. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1938. Pp. xiii, 367. $3.00.)

WITH this book begins a new and important series on colonial history. It is a striking evidence of the originality of the author's thought and of the vitality of American historiography in general that a period already

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covered by several excellent multiple volume histories can receive a further extensive treatment so fresh and so illuminating. Professor Wertenbaker does not concern himself with the detailed narrative of colonial settlement, with political or economic institutions as such, or with the British system of colonial control. His purpose is rather to analyze and describe the transit of European culture to the English colonies of North America. In this volume, which covers New Netherland (and the later New York), New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, he writes about the English and Continental sources of the culture brought here, about the influence of the American environment, about "the mingling of racial, religious, and regional groups, the so-called melting-pot", and, to a lesser degree, about the continued intercourse of America and Europe. He deals chiefly with such topics as architecture, religion, language, agricultural economy, and arts and crafts. Later volumes on New England and the South will make this the first extensive work dealing systematically with the cultural beginnings of the American people.

Unlike some social historians, Mr. Wertenbaker has largely avoided the danger of a purely static, cross-sectional treatment. He is interested in the effect of a new environment upon the habits and practices of a people and in the influence of one culture upon another when the two are brought in contact. Consequently the story is one of evolution, and the whole treatment is essentially dynamic. Thus he tells of the long but slowly losing fight of the Dutch to preserve their language after the English conquest of New Netherland. He traces the effect of climate and the influence of English neighbors upon the rural architecture brought by the Germans from the Rhineland to Pennsylvania. And one is always kept aware that something new and essentially American was gradually forming here from the blended streams of European culture.

Three hundred and fifty pages are far too few for the adequate handling of all the subjects that might properly be included in such a treatment of the middle colonies. Rather than touch lightly on everything of importance, the book concentrates upon those few things which seem best to illustrate the major theme. Not everyone, of course, will agree with the author's selections or with his emphasis. He expresses his regret that "chapters on the religious history of the Pennsylvania Germans, the artistic crafts of Philadelphia, the Swedes on the lower Delaware, on education, superstitions and other phases of colonial life" were crowded out. Strangely, except in an excellent chapter on the conflict between the New England brand of Calvinism in East New Jersey and the Scottish Calvinism of Pennsylvania, he also omits all detailed consideration of the Scotch-Irish. Perhaps this extremely important component of the American people will be treated in a later volume. Nearly a third of the pages and almost all the many illustrations are devoted to architecture, an emphasis which seems disproportionate in a book on American civilization in general. Its justification perhaps is,

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first, that of all topics architecture best illustrates the effect of environment and cultural contacts upon European origins, and, second, that in his discussion of Dutch, Flemish, and German houses and barns the author makes many new and significant contributions to American architectural history.

The middle colonies undoubtedly offer the best opportunity of any area for the sort of colonial history which Mr. Wertenbaker is now writing. When we have been given so much of value it is perhaps ungracious to ask for more. Yet a second volume on the same region dealing with topics here omitted would be most welcome, especially as in the past these colonies have received far less attention from competent social historians than have New England and Virginia. But whether or not such a volume is forthcoming, it is clear from what has already been published that this new series is a contribution to colonial history of first-rate importance.

Yale University. LEONARD W. LABAREE.

The Roots of American Civilization: A History of American Colonial Life. By CURTIS P. NETTELS, University of Wisconsin. [Crofts American History Series, Dixon Ryan Fox, General Editor.] (New York: F. S. Crofts and Company. 1938. Pp. xx, 748. $4.09.)

IN this volume Professor Nettels has with ample justification added another text on colonial history to the existing half-dozen which cover the field. His purposes are to synthesize the results of modern scholarship into a coherent account; to discuss the economic development of the colonies as a phase of the expanding capitalism of England and the rising capitalism of America; and to interpret colonial history as an integral part of the central theme of American history, the struggle between large property owners and lesser folk for the control of political and economic institutions in the interest of class advantage. Hence great stress is laid upon the emergence of social classes, their conflicts over land, currency, debts, taxes, commerce, and the repercussions these conflicts created in the political, social, and religious aspects of colonial life and in imperial affairs.

The origin of these conflicts Professor Nettels finds in one of his revisionist interpretations of colonial history—the importance of surplus capital and its need for markets (colonies), investments (land speculation and loans to planters and colonial merchants), and control of commerce (insuring freights, commissions, insurance, and interest on loans). Therefore colonies were founded, trade and navigation laws were enacted, statutes restricting some and stimulating other types of colonial industrial activity and regulating colonial currency were passed, and the French were driven from North America. But in this paradise of a planned economy discord in the form of chronic colonial indebtedness and rival capitalists in the northern colonies precipitated a conflict between metropolis and dependencies which, when after 1760 the English government decided to reserve to British

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capitalists the opportunities for markets, investments, and commercial dominance, led directly to the disruption of the empire.

In America social conflicts exhibited "one major issue: who should control the land and the products it yielded to the labor of the settlers?" (p. 329). The agrarian program was both political and economic, for "democracy and inflation were kindred spirits in colonial times: let the people have money as well as votes" (p. 535). Political democracy would make possible a more equitable distribution of land; paper money would revolutionize the price and credit structure in favor of farmers. No wonder merchants and planters, whatever may have been their attitude towards British capitalism, believed in and endeavored to maintain a conservative social order at home.

Although Professor Nettels has interpreted the past primarily in terms of economic determinism, he has indicated other forces which have affected the evolution of American nationality. Among these two deserve mention: the flexibility of colonial society as its distinguishing characteristic; and the spirit of optimism and sense of achievement which permeated all social classes.

Inevitably the question arises as to the validity of Professor Nettels's interpretation. Let it be answered by stating that one's philosophy of history, and particularly the relative importance placed on economic motives, will largely determine the answer. For its comprehensive analysis and description of colonial economic development and for focusing attention on the fundamental problem of agrarian capitalistic conflict in colonial times, this book is an excellent introduction to American history before 1783.

Smithshire, Illinois. CHARLES FREDERICK STRONG.

New Sweden on the Delaware. By CHRISTOPHER WARD. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1938. Pp. viii, 160. $1.50.)

A History of Swedish Colonial Expansion. By CHARLES DE LANNOY. Translated from the French. (Newark: University of Delaware. 1938. Pp. v, 46. 50 cents.)

Martin Luther's Little Catechism translated into Algonquian Indian. By JOHANNES CAMPANIUS. Facsimile of the printed edition, Stockholm, 1696. With Some Notes by ISAK COLLIJN and an English Version by DANIEL NYSTROM and E. W. OLSON. (New York: Swedish American Tercentenary Association. 1938. Pp. 160, 21; translation, 52. $3.00 for bound volume; 25 cents for translation alone.)

New Sweden, 1638-1938: Being a Catalogue of Rare Books and Manuscripts relating to the Swedish Colonization on the Delaware River. (Philadelphia: Gilpin Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. 1938. Pp. ix, 51.)

Delaware: A Guide to the First State. Compiled and written by the

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Federal Writers' Project of the W. P. A. [American Guide Series.] (New York: Viking Press. 1938. Pp. xxv, 549. $2.50.)

Swedes in America, 1638-1938. Edited by ADOLPH B. BENSON and NABOTH HEDIN. [Swedish American Tercentenary Association.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1938. Pp. xvi, 614. $3.00.)

THE celebration in June, 1938, of the tercentenary of the establishment of the first permanent white settlements in the Delaware Valley by Swedes and Finns was signalized by a considerable number of anniversary publications. That they range from tomes of scholarly pretensions to works of no particular significance is natural, for local and group enthusiasm created by strenuous commemorative effort perhaps inevitably sires progeny of uneven excellence.

Ward's *New Sweden on the Delaware* represents in the main the material on the New Sweden colony which was included in his *The Dutch and Swedes on the Delaware, 1609-1664,* published in 1930. The present volume is a readable account in which words occasionally take the place of fact, and unfamiliarity with history is not allowed to restrain breezy exposition. It contains a number of errors: for instance, the statement (p. 2) that Sweden in 1600-50 included among other things "all of modern Sweden"; the estimate of the urban population as one eighth of the total population; and the reference to the Finns (pp. 43-45), which shows no familiarity with the subject. The treatment of the general background of New Sweden gives no adequate idea of Sweden-Finland during the middle decades of the seventeenth century. The main part of the book follows the story told nearly thirty years ago by Dr. Amandus Johnson.

De Lannoy's contribution is mentioned in the translator's note as the third "volume" of his *Histoire de l'expansion coloniale des peuples européens,* the first two volumes of which appeared in 1907 and 1911. The pamphlet devotes some thirty-five pages to New Sweden and its antecedents and about eight pages to later efforts to acquire overseas possessions. The bibliography of twenty-nine items mentions no work published after 1911. The scholarly Belgian's reputation would not have suffered if this superficial "volume" had never been translated.

The facsimile of the Campanius *Catechism* is an interesting echo of the labors of a cleric who worked among the Swedes and Finns on the Delaware. In charge of the spiritual concerns and life of the colonists during the years 1642-48, Johannes Campanius adapted the Little Catechism of Luther for use in the conversion of the Algonquin Indians. The book was used for more than a generation in manuscript and was printed in Stockholm in 1696. An essay at the end of this volume, written by Dr. Collijn, gives an interesting account of the Catechism and the period in which it appears to have been an important aid in the religious endeavors of Campanius and his successors.

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The Gilpin Library catalogue, ably prepared by Dr. Julian P. Boyd, contains ninety-five items dealing with New Sweden. Seven items relate to William Usselinx, the prime mover in the founding of the commercial company that led to the establishment of the colony. Perhaps under the influence of the tercentenary celebration, one of the sections of the catalogue is headed "Swedish Royalty"; of its twenty-two items, only two appear to have any connection with New Sweden. The publication of the useful *Delaware Guide* coincides with the tercentenary of the first permanent settlement of the "First State".

The volume edited by Professor Benson and Dr. Hedin is intended "to recall by summaries and representative examples the roles played by Swedes as American pioneers and citizens". Its contents present impressive achievement. Farmers, engineers, sailors, inventors, scientists, architects, men of business, scholars, educators, artists, and others fill its pages. The dimensions of the story here told are truly challenging. The editors deserve commendation for their skill in welding together material that must have offered robust resistance to the effort to turn it into a meaningful book. Yet the scene portrayed seems too crowded, and in part with actors who do not belong in the play. For instance, Arrhenius, Berzelius, Linné, and Swedenborg—intellectual giants all—were not "American pioneers and citizens". Of the four, only one, Arrhenius, ever set foot on American soil, and his contact with the United States was limited to two brief visits after he had become a scholar of international repute. More fundamental, in a sense, is the question of how to define a "Swede". Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh may be mentioned as an illustration. The son of a father born in Sweden "and of a mother of American stock of English, Irish and French derivation", he comes no less close to being what is ordinarily called American in antecedents than Swedish. Instances of this kind are numerous and tempt one to suggest that perhaps the book should have been divided into two parts, one on Swedes in America and the other on Swedish names in America. Also, many of the persons here chronicled were products of those peculiarly American conditions which long since made the United States the land of opportunity and have transformed its population into an American citizenry. The part played by America in the making of the individuals described in this volume is left to the surmise of the reader.

Columbia University. JOHN H. WUORINEN.

The Constitution Reconsidered. Edited for the American Historical Association by CONYERS READ. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1938. Pp. xviii, 424. $3.75.)

IT was an excellent idea to gather together in a single volume these papers on the American Constitution. Some of them, no doubt, are of largely ephemeral value. But the larger part consists of essays of high

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interest, and there are a few, notably those of Professors Salvemini, Hamilton, Lerner, and Commager, which are of outstanding value. The third part of the book is the most disappointing. It seems intended to display the influence of the American Constitution on foreign experiments and ideas. But a careful survey of its conclusions leads one to the inference that, Australia apart, the direct influence has been too small to warrant a discussion that occupies almost a fourth of the volume. What it seems mostly to show is that the American Constitution, in its effective substance, is not an article for export.

The first two parts of the book consist of a discussion of the formative ideas which went into the work of 1787 and an account of the influence of that work upon later ideas. Professor McIlwain rewrites, with characteristic charm and learning, his well-known argument about fundamental law. The contribution of the Puritan outlook, of eighteenth century concepts of liberty and democracy, of mercantilism, of the idea of law as reason, are all assessed with the training and insight we should expect from the writers. The contemporary scene is envisaged in terms of the main deposit left by the argument of a century and a half. This section ends with a remarkable essay by Professor Gabriel, who, very notably, emphasizes the insight of Herman Melville in casting doubt, as early as 1849, upon the triumphant progress of democracy.

The essayists raise a score of questions comment upon which would be out of place, even if it were possible, in a brief review. But it is perhaps worth while to note the problem that is raised by the essay of Professor McIlwain. He is, rightly, dismayed by the threat to constitutional government all over the world and, not less rightly, anxious to find the means of its preservation. His remedy, as I understand him, consists in holding fast to the idea of fundamental law. "We must preserve and strengthen", he writes (p. 14), "those bounds beyond which no free government ought ever to go, and make them limits beyond which no government whatever can ever legally go. We must make *ultra vires* all exorbitant acts of government." I wish that Professor McIlwain had given us a bill of particulars to accompany this resounding generalization. What are these bounds? What are the conditions which justify their definition at any given time? To whom is the definition to be entrusted? How do we know what an "exorbitant" act of government is? If these high phrases are read in the context of the essays by Professors Hamilton, Commager, and Lerner, they begin to assume somewhat dubious proportions. Mr. Justice Holmes and Mr. Justice Field would, I suspect, both have claimed that they were doing exactly what Professor McIlwain has in mind; but it would be difficult indeed to discover any common principles in their approach to the issue. I suspect, in a word, that outside certain procedural aspects of issues connected with liberty of the person, making *ultra vires* "exorbitant acts" of

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government boils down to protecting certain property relations from reform by the will of a legislative assembly; and a pretty case could be made out for the argument that those who have, like Mr. Justice Field, constituted themselves on the Supreme Court the guardians of fundamental law in the context of property have rarely been equally able to see its fundamentality where liberty of the person is concerned: Mr. Justice Holmes's famous dissents in the Frank and Abrams cases made but a small impact on the majority of his colleagues. Yet I think Professor McIlwain would agree that in each of those noble opinions Holmes was endeavoring to safeguard the people of the United States against "exorbitant" acts of its government.

The truth surely is that the postulates which underlie such a conception of the Constitution as Professor McIlwain outlines are, as indeed several of the other essayists show, defective in two respects. In the first place, they are too static in character; a fundamental law with unchanging content is impossible in a dynamic world. In the second place, they separate the idea of constitutionality from the living and total reality of which it is, in fact, an inseparable part. The postulates of a working conception of "fundamental" law must be what Mr. Justice Holmes called the "can't helps" of a given period; and these will be determined not by political forms but by the economic and social factors which give life to those forms. This is brought out clearly in the essays by Professors Commager and Lerner in the present volume. Until Professor McIlwain's approach is illuminated by that understanding, it remains a dubious abstraction which does not really help us to lay down canons of constitutional action.

London School of Economics and Political Science. HAROLD J. LASKI.

Tench Coxe: A Study in American Economic Development. By HAROLD HUTCHESON, Connecticut College. [Johns Hopkins University Studies.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1938. Pp. ix, 227. $2.25.)

THERE is a singular and significant omission in the excellent bibliography which Dr. Hutcheson has used so intelligently and so exhaustively in this study. Coxe's own manuscripts, comprising many thousands of items, have not been available to the author, although he made every effort to obtain access to them. This fact is mentioned here only because it seems incredible that the descendants of Coxe, the present custodians of his manuscripts, should have refused their co-operation in an undertaking so flattering to their ancestor. What their motives were is not revealed, and one can only regret that they did not help to make this first full-length study of Tench Coxe also the final and definitive account which it should have been. As it is, Dr. Hutcheson has done all that could be done in setting forth Coxe's place in the development of American economic ideas. For this purpose he was fortunately able to use all of Coxe's known published writings, covering the years between 1786 and 1823, as well as many of his letters and reports.

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Had the Coxe manuscripts been available, it is safe to say that the sketch of Coxe's life presented in the first chapter might have been more revealing and more conclusive. One would like to know more of the personal life and business career of this scion of a famous and prosperous Philadelphia family. What manner of man was this merchant who was lukewarm if not a Loyalist during the Revolution, who later became a Federalist and served as Hamilton's assistant in the Treasury, and who finally turned Jeffersonian yet never rose high in public service, although it was not for want of trying? Why did this champion of an American industrial revolution swing from Hamilton to Jefferson, who did not favor a manufacturing system?

Dr. Hutcheson is, however, less concerned with questions of this sort than with Coxe's contribution, in thought and in deed, to the establishment of American manufactures. Coxe was a tireless writer and agitator, and Hutcheson devotes four chapters to the exposition of this major theme, with its variations. Coxe rang his first changes upon it at the time of the Constitutional Convention (ch. II), and the crisis created by the Napoleonic wars provided him with an appropriate sounding board for his persistent plea that domestic manufactures were essential to American peace and independence (ch. IV). Coxe's broader conception of manufactures as a vital part of a "balanced national economy" is skillfully summarized in chapter III, while chapter V reviews Coxe's special interest and efforts in support of "The American Cotton Culture and Manufacture". In a final chapter Dr. Hutcheson presents conclusions and modest claims in behalf of Coxe as a precursor of the American nationalist school.

Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute. SAMUEL REZNECK.

The Territorial Papers of the United States. Compiled and edited by CLARENCE EDWIN CARTER. Volumes V and VI, *The Territory of Mississippi, 1798-1817.* (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1937; 1938. Pp. ix, 815; v, 893. $1.50 each.)

THESE two thick volumes of documents on the Mississippi Territory are a valuable addition to the printed sources of Southern history. They enrich considerably the meager collection of materials for the study of the early development of Mississippi and Alabama. Their editor has followed the general principles used in the previous volumes of this series and has included only certain important papers pertaining to administration and related subjects. Considerable attention has been given to the troublesome matter of land titles. Few documents on Indian, military, or diplomatic affairs have been included. Acts of the territorial legislature and journals of the executive proceedings of the governors have been omitted. Intelligent care and excellent historical judgment have been used in the selection of the documents which have been printed.

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The papers for these two volumes have been drawn largely from the files of the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress, the Senate and House of Representatives, and the executive departments. Historians will be interested to note that many of the files searched by Mr. Carter, particularly those of the Senate and the Department of State, are now deposited in the National Archives and are readily available to accredited researchers. Few depositories outside of Washington have made contributions. The collections of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History should undoubtedly have been used.

These papers present a composite and many-sided picture of the Mississippi territorial period from 1798 through 1817 and throw many interesting side lights on national affairs. The correspondence between the Federal and territorial officials discloses a maze of vexing administrative problems relating to the application of the land laws, the extension of postal facilities, and the organization of local governments. The complications of Indian affairs were not lessened by the demands of the land-hungry immigrants and the activities of the neighboring Spanish regions. The Aaron Burr episode and the machinations of General James Wilkinson have their places in the turbulent life of the territory. Through the entire period ran the characteristically vigorous and heated factional disputes of the frontier politicians who were continually trying to trouble their enemies by making accusations and carrying tales to their friends in Washington.

Practically no papers in these two volumes have been published before, but very little has been printed on the Mississippi Territory. Dunbar Rowland attempted to make a contribution in that field but never proceeded further than his *Mississippi Territorial Archives, 1798-1803,* issued in 1905, and his six-volume set of *Official Letter Books of W. C. C. Claiborne, 1801-1816,* issued in 1917. This reviewer hopes that among other things a complete set of the acts of the Mississippi territorial legislature will eventually be published.

These papers have been edited with exacting scholarship. The footnotes are extremely helpful without detracting from the main objective of presenting the documents. Cross references to valuable related materials, both of primary and secondary nature, and biographical sketches of writers and persons mentioned in the documents are particularly notable.

A few of the younger students of Mississippi history have seen many of the papers published in these two volumes, but no one has seen all of them. New avenues in the development of the Mississippi Territory have been opened; others will have to be surveyed again and adjusted to facts brought to light by Mr. Carter's efforts. The only regret of the reviewer is that the two volumes could not have grown into twenty.

Jackson, Mississippi. WILLIAM D. MCCAIN.

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A Gentleman of the Old Natchez Region, Benjamin L. C. Wailes. By CHARLES S. SYDNOR, Duke University. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1938. Pp. xii, 337. $3.00.)

THIS volume is more than the biography of a dynamic ante-bellum Mississippian; it is also a history of the evolving civilization in the Natchez region from its frontier days in 1800 to the beginning of the Civil War. Professor Sydnor has skillfully integrated his bifurcated problem. He has pictured the rise and fall of a well-defined regional culture, and at the same time he has shown how a leading citizen contributed to the development of that cultural pattern. In brief, the career of Wailes is effectively mirrored against a background of social, political, and scientific factors. With a cross section of the Natchez region in 1800 as a point of departure, the author introduces members of the Wailes family and their kin as they followed the westward moving frontier to the Southwest; shows how Wailes and his region matured; analyzes intellectual trends and the movement for agricultural improvement; presents Wailes as an educator, historian, naturalist, planter, and traveler; evaluates the contributions of Jefferson College and the Mississippi Historical Society; and closes with a discussion of the passing of the man and his civilization.

Wailes was a versatile pioneer who "spent much of his life in traveling roads that have since fallen into disuse" (p. vii). He promoted a local athenaeum and a lyceum; he served as trustee of Jefferson College for nearly forty years; he helped to organize an "Agricultural, Horticultural and Botanical Society"; and he was the moving force behind the establishment of the Mississippi Historical Society. Perhaps his greatest achievement was as a naturalist. He became an authority upon the fossils, rocks, and soils of his region and also upon its plant and animal life. As assistant professor of agricultural and geological sciences at the University of Mississippi, Wailes made a survey of the state and published his findings in a *Report on the Agriculture and Geology of Mississippi* (1854), the historical portion of which "far surpassed all . . . earlier histories of Mississippi" (p. 236). His private collection of specimens was extensive, and he made notable contributions to those at Jefferson College, the University of Mississippi, the state capitol, and the Smithsonian Institution. As a public servant, Wailes was assistant to the Choctaw Indian agent, registrar of the Washington (Mississippi) land office, and twice a member of the legislature.

The voluminous Wailes papers, including a regularly kept diary, 1852-62, proved to be a storehouse of information. Footnotes and bibliography indicate that Professor Sydnor meticulously searched both printed and manuscript sources for pertinent data. Errors in fact and typography are too few to warrant emphasis. The narrative is never dull; at times it sparkles with humor. Maps, illustrations, and an adequate index enhance the utility of the volume. In only one respect does the study seem inadequate: the agricultural

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and horticultural development of the Natchez region receive only meager attention, and Wailes as a Southern planter does not stand out in bold relief.

Louisiana State University. WENDELL HOLMES STEPHENSON.

I am a Man—The Indian Black Hawk. By CYRENUS COLE. (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa. 1938. Pp. 312. $3.00.)

The Apache Indians. By FRANK C. LOCKWOOD. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. xvi, 348. $3.50.)

IN his preface Mr. Cole states his purpose in writing the biography of Black Hawk as follows: "I have sought to find some of his trails; to resurrect somewhat his scheme of things and something of his spirit, and to recreate the environment in which he lived his stormy life. I have tried also to strip him of some of the extravagant adjectives, whether of praise or censure, with which many historians have encumbered him and his memory". He has succeeded better in portraying the man himself than in re-creating the environment in which he lived. The background is often shadowy and confused. Of the social and political life of the Sauks and Foxes, among whom Black Hawk was reared and whose leader he became, there is almost nothing.

One hundred and twenty-four pages of this biography are devoted to the early life of the hero, 113 to the Black Hawk War, and 42 to his later life. His story is told in a series of episodes. It is based upon very considerable research—mostly in published sources. There is no bibliography, but eleven pages at the end of the volume are devoted to citations from the books and documents consulted.

Black Hawk was one of the great figures of our Indian history. Probably no other Indian chief ever crossed the trails of so many prominent Americans. In the story of his life appear the names of Zebulon M. Pike, William Henry Harrison, Andrew Jackson, Zachary Taylor, Winfield Scott, Ninian Edwards, Lewis Cass, Albert Sidney Johnston, Jefferson Davis, and Abraham Lincoln.

The Apache Indians is a history of the Apache tribes from the earliest times to the present day. It breaks new ground. We have many volumes dealing with this or that phase of Apache culture or with this or that campaign against the Apaches, but this is the first attempt that has been made to depict the people and their environment and to tell the whole story of their centuries of conflict with other tribes and with the Spaniards, the Mexicans, and the Americans. It is a valuable contribution to Indian history and to the history of the Southwest.

The book was originally projected by Charles Morgan Wood, who died before he could achieve his purpose. It was written by his friend Dr. Lockwood of the faculty of the University of Arizona, who did not live to see it published. It is the result of years of preparation—meticulous collection

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of published works and unpublished manuscripts, interviews with survivors of the events narrated in the latter chapters, and a careful study of much of the terrain on which those events took place. Its value is enhanced by the many carefully chosen illustrations.

The book is difficult reading. The sequence of events is not clear. It is disconcerting to read a dramatic account of the death and burial of Cochise and then to find him in action again thirty pages later on. The careful reader will be constantly turning forward or back to orient himself. The bibliographies, unfortunately, are scattered at the conclusions of the several chapters, which makes them difficult to consult and results in unnecessary repetition.

These two books have one serious deficiency in common. Neither contains an adequate map. This deficiency is particularly unfortunate as the movements of troops described are often entirely unintelligible and therefore completely uninteresting without a knowledge of the location of boundaries which have been altered since the events narrated took place and of forts or villages which have disappeared or which have survived under new names.

Washington, D. C. JOSEPH C. GREEN.

Square-Riggers on Schedule: The New York Sailing Packets to England, France, and the Cotton Ports. By ROBERT GREENHALGH ALBION, Princeton University. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1938. Pp. xii, 371. $3.50.)

HERE for the first time is a proper history of an important phase of American transportation—the New York sailing packets. All studies of these famous liners hitherto have been little more than expansions of a grossly inaccurate article that appeared in *Harper's Magazine* in 1884. Professor Albion breaks new ground on every page; he has combed the New York newspapers over a period of forty years, studied the voluminous records of the New York Custom House, and extracted human interest and mirth from personal narratives of travelers. I do not see how the book could have been done better, nor can I foresee the time when it will be superseded.

By 1824 New York had four regular sailings a month to Liverpool, two to Le Havre, and one to London. Blow high, blow low, these ships sailed on schedule. Although the Western Ocean winds permitted no definite arrival date (eastbound and westbound passages averaged 24 and 36 days respectively but ranged between 16 and 83 days), both the speed and the regularity of the packets were such an improvement over those of the "constant traders" that they skimmed the cream of transatlantic freight and passenger traffic. Nor did they succumb to steam until the early eighteen-eighties. At the same time numerous lines of sailing coastal packets distributed the liners' cargoes along the Atlantic coast and brought cotton

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and other goods to New York for transshipment abroad. Thus the packets became an important factor, rivaling even the Erie Canal, in crushing New York's northern rivals and securing for her a stranglehold on Southern trade. By 1840, probably, every United States port from Maine to Louisiana paid toll to New York on the bulk of its commerce with Great Britain and Northern France.

Professor Albion has struck an even balance between history and description. The financing, construction, operation, and ownership of the ships are analyzed; cabin arrangements and life on shipboard, mutinies and shipwrecks, are described, without the exaggeration of Samuels's famous Reminiscences. Particularly valuable for the historian are the chapters "Enslaving the Cotton Ports", "Counting House Control", and "Canvas versus Steam", which describes the losing fight of these gallant wind-driven ships against the superior efficiency of mechanical power.

There are several appendixes of statistics, a biographical dictionary of packet shipmasters, and an excellent critical bibliography. Deplorable is the absence of footnotes. There is no excuse for excluding these from a work published by a subsidized university press; and their absence will not only embarrass future investigators but subject the author to a constant stream of inquiring letters for at least the next twenty years. Let us hope that he receives some "fan mail", too, and that he is encouraged to continue his valuable studies of New York's seaborne commerce.

Harvard University. S. E. Morison.

Southern Negroes, 1861-1865. By Bell Irvin Wiley, State Teachers College, Hattiesburg, Mississippi. [Yale Historical Publications.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1938. Pp. viii, 366. $3.00.)

This volume describes the activities and interprets the attitudes of Southern Negroes in the states which were in rebellion and in the sections which were under the control of the Union armies. Part I treats the Negroes in the Confederacy under such titles as "The Coming of the 'Yankees'", "Labor", "The Slave Trade", "Military Laborers", "Body Servants", "A Dying Institution". Part II treats the Negroes under Federal control through such titles as "The Beginning of Federal Guardianship", "Working for Wages", and "Fighting for Freedom".

Answers are sought throughout these chapters to the problem of the loyalty of the slaves during the war, to their apparent indifference to freedom, and to their conduct during the absence of their masters. Sifting evidence from diaries, newspapers, and reminiscences, the author concludes that such loyalty as was shown by the slaves was based upon personal attachment and close association, good treatment prior to the war, punishment or rumors of it, and the Negro's nonviolent nature. The author cites numerous instances of loyalty and active interest by Negroes in the safety of individuals and

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families. This study shows, however, that in the regions which were not entered by the Union armies the Negroes only feigned contentment while chafing under the chains of bondage. The evidence presented leads to the conclusion that unfaithfulness to their masters' cause was far more common than postwar commentators have stated.

In the chapter, "Privations and Privileges", the view is accepted, which recent investigation is substantiating, that the Confederacy was generally in better shape in the matter of food than has been generally supposed and that the Negroes were at the base of these operations. The author definitely believes that there was in the interior regions "more than a sufficiency of the necessities of life for everyone in the Confederacy". The conflicts between the Confederate and state authorities over impressments are noted, but the influence of these experiences and their publicized reactions upon the collapse of Confederate resistance is ignored. In this respect the author could have carried his interpretation to an equally valid conclusion.

There can be no justification for the continuous use of the word "darky" throughout the volume. Such phrases as "barefoot pickaninnies", "sable brothers", and "dusky urchins" are also found, without quotation marks, whereas the word "Yankees" is always used in quotations. Many readers will find such phrases distasteful. It is clear that such terms as "cracker", "red-neck", and "hill-billy", also commonly used in the South, were studiously avoided. The author's purpose was probably to make use of familiar, homely phrases which belong to the vernacular with which he is familiar.

The author endeavors to present an objective interpretation of published and unpublished data in a comprehensive treatment. Much of the material and the conclusions, however, have appeared in several previously published monographs. The book, with its bibliographical note and its fairly complete index, has considerable merit and can be placed in the front rank of the studies which are presenting the neglected aspects of the history of the Negro in American life according to accepted historical methods.

Howard University. CHARLES H. WESLEY.

The Collapse of the Confederacy. By CHARLES H. WESLEY, Howard University. (Washington: Associated Publishers. 1937. Pp. xiii, 225. $2.15.)

THERE was a time when historians believed that superior numbers organized by Lincoln and led by Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, and Thomas had something to do with causing the collapse of the Confederacy. Mr. Wesley, however, belongs to the camp which seems to maintain that the South not only could have won but should have won. According to this argument the Confederacy had within its boundaries all the resources that were necessary to gain independence. What it lacked was the will to fight, the spirit of complete sacrifice, the unselfishness of forgetting domestic rivalries, the determination to focus all endeavor on one objective.

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The merit of Mr. Wesley's book is in the evidence he produces. This evidence clearly pictures the internal situation of the Confederacy insofar as it was a story of ineffectual organization, political and individual feuds, class divisions, weakening morale, social evils, and defeatism. A serious demerit is the naïveté with which Mr. Wesley approaches so evasive a problem as causation in a society in war time. He is dogmatic in assertion, but he is not clear in demonstrating that the loss of the will to fight was a cause rather than a result of defeat. It apparently has not occurred to him that a picture of the political divisions and weakened public morale in the North in the summer before the military victories of September, 1864, would have been as dismally defeatist as that in the South at that time—if not more so. Mr. Wesley writes on page 168: "Leaving aside military defeats, the collapse of the South was due in part to a lack of resources, but more directly to the absence of a wholehearted and sustained resistance, the complete renunciation of self, the popular support of its government's measures, the devoted and continued loyalty to its declared principles—without which no revolution has been successful." The "leaving aside" is what disturbs one familiar with the action and interaction of forces in society. The military defeats are only one of the too many variables Mr. Wesley has omitted from his equation of causation. Among other factors the historian of the Confederacy must make room for a good-sized number of unpredictable accidents.

The book is weakened by Mr. Wesley's amateurish insistence that he has discovered something of which other scholars were ignorant or which they were inclined to suppress. One might overlook this as unimportant except that it apparently has resulted in Mr. Wesley's failure properly to integrate with his own researches the many excellent books and articles which have been published in the past two decades. Passages in his book on such topics as King Cotton diplomacy, desertion, and the states rights controversy seem rather weak in comparison to the best scholarship that has appeared on each subject.

Harvard University. PAUL H. BUCK.

The Story of Reconstruction. By ROBERT SELPH HENRY. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1938. Pp. 633. $5.00.)

THIS story of the South during "that long-drawn-out tragedy of misunderstanding, Reconstruction" (p. 5), is not the history of the nation, nor is it the complete history of the South during Reconstruction. It is essentially a political narrative. In it one finds no discussion of important national questions—the tariff, foreign policies, and economic development—which confronted the nation during the critical decade and a half. The panic of 1873 is dismissed in a paragraph or so, the scandals of the Grant administration are not recounted in the usual horrifying detail, and the Tweed Ring

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is barely mentioned. Mr. Henry does not rush in to tread the ground so lately broken by the social historians. Not that he regards it as sacred but as merely outside the limits set by himself. The picture of the South he would have us see is thereby less complete than one would wish. Such topics as education, religion, social relations, the development of racial consciousness, and their implications, while not ignored, are not well rounded. The discussion of economic changes, particularly in transportation, is more adequate.

In spite of these omissions it stands as the best one-volume work on the subject for the general reader. The style is good; there is no straining after effect. If one misses the striking pen portraits of Bowers, one is not confused by Marxian concepts as amplified by DuBois. Although there are no footnotes and only a brief bibliography, the book is uncommonly accurate. Less than a half-dozen errors of fact, all unimportant, were noted. It is clear that the secondary authorities have been used with care. A political revolution followed by a social revolution is apt to be disturbing in any society, and it is difficult to tell the story without confusion. With considerable success Mr. Henry has faced the task of combining the topical and chronological methods in describing the process of Reconstruction in eleven states (all the while keeping an eye on Washington) in no two of which was the process identical. The tone is judicious, and if there is a bias, one should remember that, Reconstruction being what it was, it is harder to forget the lingering consequences of the Age of Hate than it is for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven. Mr. Henry strives for moderation; he seeks to describe rather than to incite. His discussions of the Black Codes, the Klan, and the Reconstruction governments seem fair to both races. He condemns the "atrocity" stories invented by the Northern press prior to the campaign of 1868 yet is able to say that "of actual outbreaks in the South . . . there was a shocking plenty" (pp. 338-39).

By and large the author follows the traditional story. If he propounds a thesis, it is this: "New voters could be created; new leaders could not. Because of the lack of such leaders the whole scheme . . . was to collapse when the support of Federal bayonets was withdrawn" (p. 141). The economic alliance of the North and West, as seen by Beale in the congressional campaign of 1866 and as a prelude to congressional Reconstruction, receives only passing reference. The author does not see the success of the Joint Committee of Fifteen as the result of a capitalist-abolitionist conspiracy (with the capitalist leading the duped abolitionist) to break the South economically and politically. He attributes it to several political factors, chief of which was "the conviction . . . that the President's policy could not win, and that those who went down with him to defeat would find themselves outcasts in the political wilderness" (p. 136). Nor does he see in the results of 1876 a reconciliation of the Northern capitalist and the

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Southern planter, making certain the overthrow of the "dictatorship" of the black "proletariat". An examination of these questions would have enhanced the value of the book.

Duke University. R. H. Woody.

Tom Watson, Agrarian Rebel. By C. Vann Woodward, University of Florida. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. xii, 518. $3.75.)

To trace the career of Tom Watson through all its paradoxical vicissitudes and maintain throughout an attitude of detached understanding was a task for a scholar of broad social vision and human insight. This is what Professor Woodward has done, and done exceedingly well. His major postulate is that Watson's public life was divided into two disparate and in some ways antithetical parts, rather widely separated in time and circumstance, and that no fair or true judgment of the man is possible without full consideration of both parts and their interrelations. As to the first of these the author maintains: "About Watson's seriousness, his conviction, and his consecration to his task there can be no doubt" (p. 171). Indeed it would probably not be too much to say that of the agrarian leaders who became Populists in the nineties, Watson combined to the greatest degree sincerity of conviction and steadfastness of purpose. He alone, of all the Southern Democrats elected to Congress in 1890 pledged to the Farmers' Alliance program, refused to be bound by the conservative Democratic caucus and strove consistently for the attainment of Alliance objectives. On the other hand, "in some phases of his later life, [he] became the embodiment of much that was detestable" (p. vii). How his once courageous fight for the oppressed—regardless of class, religion, or race—was "thwarted at every turn" and finally brought to tragic frustration by notorious political trickery, prejudice, and hate; how in later years he gradually changed his tactics, reversing some of his most laudable principles, becoming in time a violent rouser of race and religious prejudice and even mobism; how he came to wield the balance of power in Georgia politics for almost two decades and beat his old adversaries at their own game—all this is told in authentic and interesting detail.

Professor Woodward is the first trained historian to have attempted a biography of Watson. He is the first to have had full access to the Watson Papers, recently deposited in the library of the University of North Carolina (available only by permission of the family), and also to certain intimate papers in possession of Miss Georgia D. Watson of Thomson, Georgia. He has had more complete access than has hitherto been granted to the Papers of Governor W. J. Northen, Farmers' Alliance-Democratic leader in Georgia during the nineties, and to several important but more or less fragmentary collections. Of all these he has made thorough and discerning use, as he has of such miscellaneous sources as are available. In

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his admirable treatment of political, economic, and social backgrounds he has employed with the same good judgment former studies bearing on his general field.

One is hesitant to say that a biography of so recent and controversial a subject is definitive, but at least it seems unlikely that important revisions or reinterpretations may be expected in the generation of the relatively youthful author.

The Woman's College of the University of North Carolina. ALEX MATHEWS ARNETT.

"Eagle Forgotten": The Life of John Peter Altgeld. By HARRY BARNARD. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1938. Pp. 496. $4.00.)

IN 1924 Altgeld's first biographer, Waldo R. Browne, presented a sympathetic account of the meteoric Illinois governor who pardoned the surviving Haymarket prisoners, fought President Cleveland over Federal military intervention in the Pullman Strike, wrote the famous Democratic platform of 1896, and introduced a reform regime suggestive of the New Deal. Harry Barnard has expanded the story materially in a far more vivid presentation than his predecessor's, utilizing several fresh sources of importance. He has filled in admirably many of the numerous lacunae in the previous accounts of Altgeld's early life. Among his interesting contributions he shows that Altgeld's popularity did not seriously wane after the Haymarket pardon; that Lyman Trumbull was invited by the governor to initiate the pardon proceedings but refused; and that Altgeld was offered a huge bribe unsuccessfully not only during consideration of the Yerkes Traction Bill but also for the passage of the Gas Trust bills.

It is to be regretted, however, that the biography, despite the industry and skill of the author, has remained largely a popular work rather than a definitive study. Failure to consult directly such fundamental sources as the governor's letter books, the governor's executive files, and the Henry D. Lloyd Papers is reflected in the rather sketchy treatment of significant administrative problems. The famous women's eight-hour case, *Ritchie* v. *Ill.* (1895), which created an unfortunate precedent against social legislation of its type in American constitutional history, is suggested only by inference despite Altgeld's role in combatting the manufacturers' lobby. In the Pullman Strike episode Mr. Barnard does not explain satisfactorily why Altgeld called state militia to Chicago immediately after his famous protest against Federal military intervention as unnecessary. A confidential telegram in the state archives, however, reveals that the militia were sent to aid Mayor Hopkins's administration politically by robbing the anticipated Federal reinforcements of credit. Mr. Barnard has overlooked the interesting congressional debate, following the Pullman Strike, over the Altgeld-Cleveland controversy, which showed an important party split indicative of the cleavage

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of 1896. He does not note the significant coincidence that the Illinois Democratic platform of June, 1896, written by Altgeld, is identical upon national issues with the subsequent Democratic national platform, nor that Altgeld's silver convention of June, 1895, gave the cue to McKinley's advisers that the currency question, not the tariff, would be the central issue of 1896.

The author attempts to maintain a praiseworthy impartiality throughout but occasionally leans backward. He accepts uncritically the canard of the *Chicago Tribune,* issued the day before polling in 1892, that Altgeld was hypocritical in attacking the Edwards School Law as a Know-Nothing product since he "had probably helped draft it" (p. 160). The author's charge of Democratic "spoils" politics, although made with important modifications, does not take into consideration the fact that Altgeld appointed many able Republicans to administrative posts; that he selected a number of women to leading offices, a move with little patronage value in the days before the Nineteenth Amendment; and that he was a pioneer spirit in behalf of state civil service reform—facts which suggest another conclusion.

De Paul University. HARVEY WISH.

Woodrow Wilson: Life and Letters. By RAY STANNARD BAKER. Volume VI, *Facing War, 1915-1917.* (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1937. Pp. xiii, 543. $5.00.)

THOSE who may have been looking forward to this volume in anticipation of a flood of new light upon American policy in connection with the entry of the United States into the World War will be disappointed. With very few exceptions Mr. Baker has not discovered in the Wilson Papers evidence that would add materially to what we already know on this subject. On the other hand, students of American politics will be gratified by the contributions here made. Besides utilizing the President's papers Mr. Baker has been diligent in securing the co-operation of many of the former's friends and relatives, who have made available letters in their possession and contributed their personal recollections of incidents and events. The author continues to show himself most thoroughly at home in the domestic scene. The electoral campaign of 1916 is subjected to a keen and searching analysis. There is a warm appreciation of the role of the second Mrs. Wilson and some excellent pen portraits of both prominent and little-known persons.

The bulk of the volume is of course concerned with a discussion of our foreign relations. Only one chapter is devoted to "Complications in Latin America", and to those interested in this aspect of American policy the treatment may appear sketchy and insufficiently grounded on a close acquaintance with the immediate subject. Six of the twelve chapters deal with our situation in regard to the war in Europe. In view of the frequent attacks made in recent years on the Wilson policies, Mr. Baker has accomplished much in avoiding a vehemently defensive position. He achieves

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this by making little or no reference to the arguments of the President's detractors and telling the story simply as he sees it. It is not to be implied that he is unaware of the frequent and at times serious mistakes in the conduct of American policy. But his admiration for his hero is such that his recognition of these shortcomings usually results in severe treatment of the President's advisers, who are made to bear the brunt of the responsibility.

As in his earlier volumes, Mr. Baker is not entirely successful in reconciling the relationship of Wilson with some of his friends and associates with the portrait he has drawn. The most frequent sufferer is once more Colonel House. "It was Wilson's lifelong error to suppose that men whom he accepted as his friends . . . not only loved him, but understood completely his swift and clear-running mind and agreed with him in all things." (Were these, then, the *sine qua non* of friendship with him?) The practice of House was "to approve everything, or almost everything, the President said: and Wilson assumed that House completely understood his mind". In this manner Baker explains the President's acceptance of House's letter to Grey of October 17, 1915, as "altogether right", though the author himself recognizes it as a scarcely disguised plan to engineer the entry of the United States into the war on the Allied side (p. 129).

The fact is that with all his statesmanlike qualities Wilson was too much of an amateur in diplomacy to appreciate his friend's shortcomings. It is perhaps not so "strange" as Mr. Baker likes to think that he could "listen with patience to such utter nonsense" as some of the colonel's proposals contained (p. 180). We need only recall his own startling appeal to Grey that Britain make an early move toward peace so as to forestall the entry of the United States on her side (p. 182). However much we may agree that the President would have been wiser to trust his Department of State (p. 139) and that House was in every sense a naïve and irresponsible envoy (p. 147), there remains the mystery of how Wilson managed to remain unaware of that fact.

In the judgment of the reviewer Mr. Baker fails to appreciate adequately the fatal weakness in the President's thinking which was later to prove so ruinous at Paris. Averse to concessions on principle and imbued with a truly Calvinistic assurance of right once his mind was made up, he was vulnerable to proposals that could be given the appearance of harmonizing with his point of view. House and others understood the utility of speaking in "Wilsonian" terms. The President was far too intelligent to be consistently duped by such tactics, but more than once when the interests of the country were vitally concerned he failed to recognize the fundamental divergence between the terminology employed and the course that was urged upon him. This was notably the case when his sympathies or prejudices were involved. Like the majority of the American people he was swayed in the final analysis by his fundamental sympathy for the Allied cause. This

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explains the numberless occasions when he yielded to the persuasions of House and Lansing to tone down protests intended for London and increase the vigor of others destined for Berlin. Thus, too, his final conversion to a war policy was the consequence not of a gradually hardening conviction but of an emotional response to the Zimmermann note. Unconsciously he welcomed it as a release from doubts and hesitations which had brought his cabinet to the verge of revolt. At last he could believe, as he had long wished to believe, that the German leaders, to quote Mr. Baker, desired to "dominate the world" (p. 474) and that their "aggression and intrigue had started the war" (p. 497).

Throughout the volume Mr. Baker maintains that the broad objectives of the President's policy never changed and that he never really committed himself to House's "military interventionist" schemes (p. 147). Unfortunately his peace efforts were compromised by House's secret assurances to the Allies, which "encouraged their relentless prosecution of the war" and drove the Germans to desperate countermeasures (p. 153). The "glorious" victory of the President on the McLemore Resolution also had its fateful aspects, for it further committed him to a policy of holding Germany to the observance of rules in submarine warfare which he himself admitted to be "hardly fair" (p. 174). The strict "legal" neutrality was really "unneutral in its results" (p. 304). Though Mr. Baker recoils from the conclusion, Wilson himself was thus largely to blame for a situation which he bitterly described to Daniels: "Any little German lieutenant can put this country into the war at any time by some calculated outrage" (p. 258).

The University of Minnesota. HAROLD C. DEUTSCH.

Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1921. Two volumes. *1922.* Two volumes. [Department of State.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1936; 1938. Pp. cxx, 986; xcv, 973; cxv, 1075; cix, 1042. $2.00; $2.00; $1.75; $1.75.)

THESE volumes appear only fifteen and sixteen years respectively after the events they describe. This is a long time to wait for official papers, but it is a relatively short time in view of the comparative completeness of the dispatches and documents now made available. Had the volumes appeared earlier, it is doubtful if so much could have been published without objection from other powers whose consent and co-operation are indispensable. In any case, it now appears to be the policy of the Department of State to establish fifteen years as the period which must normally transpire between events and the public recording of them in this series.

The years 1921 and 1922 were rich in materials for historical scholarship. Coming to office as Secretary of State in March, 1921, Mr. Hughes began a vigorous defense of American business interests abroad, as is already

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fairly well known. But the complete record of his first year in office gives cumulative evidence of a vigorous economic policy which made the efforts of Philander C. Knox appear modest and retiring. This is especially notable as regards the diplomacy of oil. The story of the Turkish Petroleum Company, now told in full, has been publicized heretofore. But in addition there is in these pages an enormous amount of material concerning the rights, privileges, and prospects of American petroleum companies in regions as widely separated as Mexico, the Dutch East Indies, Northern Persia, Siam, Venezuela, Turkey, and Palestine. Notable also is the correspondence with France and Great Britain concerning American rights—economic, juridical, religious, and cultural—in the mandated territories in the Near East. The so-called Chester Concession, ultimately a fiasco, seems likewise to have exhausted a good deal of departmental energy and patience.

It should not be understood, however, that the distinguished career of Mr. Hughes as Secretary of State was concerned exclusively or even primarily with American economic interests abroad. In the volumes for 1922, for example, are to be found almost four hundred pages of indispensable materials dealing with the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments. Closely connected with the treaties signed at Washington is an exchange of notes with Japan canceling the Lansing-Ishii agreement. It is now revealed that the agreement of 1917 contained a secret clause pledging both governments not to "take advantage of the present [wartime] conditions to seek special rights or privileges in China which would abridge the rights of the subjects or citizens of other friendly states". Pages 557-58 of Volume I for 1922 contain the much discussed and much criticized statement of the Department of State, March 3, 1922, concerning the flotation of foreign loans, which concluded: "The Department believes that in view of the possible national interests involved, it should have the opportunity of saying to the underwriters concerned, should it appear advisable to do so, that there is or is not objection to any particular issue."

One cannot comment adequately on this publication without praising the general typographical excellence of the volumes, which are a credit both to the Department of State and to the Government Printing Office. This is the more notable as the price in each instance is low enough to make the volumes available to any American scholar.

The Institute for Advanced Study. EDWARD MEAD EARLE.

Financial Development of the United States. By WILLIAM J. SHULTZ, College of the City of New York, and M. R. CAINE. (New York: Prentice-Hall. 1937. Pp. xxviii, 757. $5.00.)

To integrate the history of Federal and state finances with the development of taxation, banking, and currency is a difficult task. To make it intelligible to the general reader and college student and at the same time

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interesting requires not only wide knowledge of the special fields but a thorough acquaintance with the social, economic, and political background if the book is to make sense. Twenty-six years ago Davis R. Dewey pioneered with the first edition of his exceedingly competent *Financial History of the United States*. Until the present book appeared no one had attempted the same sort of task. With the wide interest developed by the currency and banking legislation of the New Deal, it was inevitable and desirable that other efforts should be made.

Placing the "widest possible interpretation" upon the term "financial history", the authors of the present volume have essayed again this difficult task. Of the book's 719 pages, 270 deal with the period before the Civil War and about 200 with the years 1917 to 1936, a division which should be generally acceptable to teachers in this field. The style is clear and simple enough for the average college student to understand, and the book is illustrated with numerous graphs, charts, and illustrations. The latter are almost entirely newspaper cartoons and add a lighter note much needed in a book of this type. Chapter development is chronological, with the chapters generally broken down into the subtopics of Federal finance, state finance, national banking, state banking, and currency, with an additional topic, capital finance, added to the latter chapters. Such a development is at times necessarily artificial. The continuity of the story is broken, and there is much repetition, irritating to the mature reader but not unsound pedagogically if used with skill.

Although the handling of taxation and finance seems better than that of banking and currency, the volume as a whole is competently done. There are minor errors, but they are few. The bibliography collected at the end of the book is reasonably adequate. Furthermore, the authors have maintained an objective treatment despite the fact that the opportunity exists on almost every page to make a judgment or present a point of view. To the reviewer, however, this volume illustrates a weakness fundamental to most financial writing: it lacks realism in that it is too far removed from close contact with the life of the people. Somehow it does not seem to integrate sufficiently with the warp and woof of political, social, and economic history. Some attempt to do this is made, to be sure, but it is not enough. In banking, currency, and taxation the authors are dealing with tools used by human beings in an effort to make an economic system function; like all history it is a story of people as well as institutions. Financial history by itself is dry and not very significant. Until it takes on that depth and color which stirs the imagination and leads to understanding it is a sterile subject. Toward a book of this type the authors have moved perceptibly, but the ultimate achievement is as yet a long way off.

Smith College. HAROLD U. FAULKNER.

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Labor Czars: A History of Labor Racketeering. By HAROLD SEIDMAN. (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation. 1938. Pp. x, 317. $2.50.)

The Labor Movement in America. By MARJORIE R. CLARK and S. FANNY SIMON. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1938. Pp. 208. $2.00.)

Labor in Canadian-American Relations. Edited by H. A. Innis. *The History of Labor Interaction,* by NORMAN J. WARE; *Labor Costs and Labor Standards,* by H. A. LOGAN. [The Relations of Canada and the United States, James T. Shotwell, Director.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1937. Pp. xxxviii, 212. $3.75.)

THE contemporary effort to "smear" all trade unions by emphasizing the racketeering policies of some unions meets an effective obstacle in Mr. Seidman's study of labor racketeering. *Labor Czars* is the most complete, interesting, and impartial presentation of the subject yet to appear. Earlier efforts in the same field have either been monographs or legislative committee reports on limited areas of the subject, or they have been antiunion propaganda published by interested persons. Mr. Seidman has the advantage of access to this material plus that provided by the Dewey prosecutions in New York and by his own experience as a newspaper reporter. He has molded this with a popular style into a document of value.

He finds the cause of labor racketeering to lie in: (1) the political policies of the A. F. of L. which result, especially in the building trades, in linking the local union agents with corrupt political machines; (2) the vested interests of all too numerous A. F. of L. leaders imbued with a short-run "business" point of view by their service to craft interests; (3) the support and encouragement of employers and trade associations to whom collusion with racketeer-ridden unions means heavy profits. As partial solutions Mr. Seidman emphasizes the necessity for independent political action by organized labor and the furtherance of philosophically militant industrial unionism.

It might be added that racketeering of all varieties is deeply imbedded in a social order which promises opportunity and rewards to the ambitious but actually denies this reward to all but a favored few. Until this conflict is removed, the ambitious will continue to drive toward the top by extra-legal methods.

The Misses Clark and Simon have turned out a highly readable and useful book on *The Labor Movement in America.* It avoids the arid stretches of condensed history, which frequently appear in books of this type, by combining historical accounts with running descriptions of the structure, policies, and philosophy of developing unionism. It covers the recent material available on the subject of employers' antiunion policies as well as recent labor legislation, labor and the courts, and the rise of the C.I.O. in an

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interesting and objective manner. This book should be very useful in workers' education classes as well as valuable to the general public.

Professor Ware brings to his section of *Labor in Canadian American Relations* his usual mastery of prose and what amounts to a seventy-page condensation of the trade union history of the United States and Canada. It is a brilliant summary but suffers from the vices of all summaries. Although Professor Ware shows that the Canadian labor movement has greater diversity than ours because of Canadian sectionalism, the influence of the Catholic Church, the French heritage, and continued British connections, he concludes that the "boundary between the United States and Canada has not interfered to any significant extent with the natural and peaceful cross fertilization of the two cultures". Professor Ware concludes with an interesting account of the 1937 Oshawa automobile workers' strike, and Mr. H. A. Logan completes the book with a valuable comparison of wages and living costs in the two countries.

Williams College. ROBERT R. R. BROOKS.

Canada and her Great Neighbor: Sociological Surveys of Opinions and Attitudes in Canada concerning the United States. Edited by H. F. ANGUS, University of British Columbia. With Introduction by R. M. MacIver, Columbia University. [The Relations of Canada and the United States, James T. Shotwell, Director.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1938. Pp. xxxvi, 451. $3.75.)

THIS volume comprises a record of the most ambitious effort ever made to ascertain the opinions and attitudes of the people of one country with reference to those of another. The book is divided into three sections of which the first, containing as it does the substance of the whole, is the most valuable. In these twenty-three pages the editor outlines the purpose of the study and reviews the evidence. The second section is devoted to an examination of those influences (educational, economic, political, recreational) that have contributed to the formation of Canadian opinion regarding the United States. In the final section the editor and his contributors describe and appraise the current constituents of that opinion.

The technique employed by Professor Angus and his assistants is in accordance with the best contemporary practice. Geographically Canada was divided into six divisions, and an investigator was assigned to each. In addition an outstanding journalist prepared an analysis of the views expressed in newspapers and periodical literature, while a prominent educationist directed a study of the attitudes of school children. For purposes of sampling, moreover, the population was divided into categories based on geography, occupation, environment, age, nationality, and so forth. The technical apparatus and the quality of those engaged in the work is most

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impressive. Whether the end justifies the means, however, is perhaps open to question.

The fact is that any intelligent political scientist with a reasonable knowledge of the two nations (Professor Angus himself, for example) could have sat down in the seclusion of his study and, by the application of his knowledge of human nature, politics, geography, history, economics, and the characteristics of those three agencies—the cinema, the radio, and popular magazines—through which the United States is most frequently and most vividly presented to Canadians, have produced a book in which all the main conclusions to be derived from the volume under review would have been present. *Canada and her Great Neighbor* comes perilously near to being an example of the stressing of the inevitable if not of the obvious.

On the other hand, it may be argued that Professor Angus and his collaborators have done a real service in presenting this detailed study of a healthy international relationship at a time when so much attention is being paid to morbid conditions in that field. After all, a knowledge of normal psychology is essential for the successful treatment of insanity.

As a result of this investigation it is apparent that Canadians *in general* tend to think of Americans *as a people* as materialistic, grasping, boastful, lawless, and politically corrupt. On the other hand, however, most Canadians also think of Americans as generous, friendly, practical, idealistic, resourceful, democratic, and progressive. That certain of these views conflict does not apparently lessen the tenacity with which they are held. It is perhaps as a rationalization of this apparent conflict that many Canadians expressed a liking for individual Americans but a dislike of the United States—what might be described as a reflection of a conflict between experience and prejudice.

The ultimate objective of all the studies of Canadian-American relations which are being presented under the auspices of the Carnegie Endowment is, presumably, to increase understanding and friendship between the two peoples by increasing mutual knowledge. It was Montaigne who said that to know all is to forgive all; but it has yet to be proved that this is as true of nations as it is of individuals. Apparently a recognition of this doubt on the part of the director of the series led to certain modifications in the standards to which Professor Angus would have preferred to adhere. In his foreword the latter writes:

> Something must be said of the changes which have been made in the book itself during the last two years. These have not been extensive but some of the more extreme and irresponsible criticisms of the United States have been omitted altogether and some other criticisms have been softened by editorial comment. The book has thus, with the skilful assistance of the editor-in-chief of the series, been subjected to a sort of sandpapering process designed to remove asperities while leaving the general outline intact. . . .

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The changes, such as they are, have been gladly effected, for while soothing comments, however sincerely made, do constitute a departure from a severe canon of objectivity just as much as provocative comments would, it is a departure that is well justified if it can help to prevent a book in a series designed to promote the cause of international goodwill from itself being a source of irritation.

The conflict thus described would appear to be almost inevitable in a series that has at base a propagandist purpose.

Canada and her Great Neighbor will be of considerable interest to the political scientist, to the psychologist, and to the historian. In a less daunting format it might enjoy a small popular success—particularly in Canada—for it contains much that is entertaining, and it deals with a subject that is of interest to all Canadians. There is no index.

Ottawa. H. L. KEENLEYSIDE.

Bolivar and the Political Thought of the Spanish American Revolution. By VÍCTOR ANDRÉS BELAUNDE. [The Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, 1930, The Walter Hines Page School of International Relations.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1938. Pp. xxiv, 451. $3.50.)

IN this work the political thought of Bolívar is singled out for special treatment against the background of a general survey of the political ideas and constitutional experiments of Spanish America from the late eighteenth century to 1830. After introductory description of the colonial institutional heritage, imported liberal ideas, and the aims of the early reformers, the author sketches the constitutional history of the different sections. With conciseness and clarity he keeps Argentina, Chile, Mexico, Peru, Venezuela, and Colombia abreast chronologically, giving major attention to the part played by Bolívar. The Liberator's projects thus stand out in the general struggle of parties and principles as prescriptions for the stability of peoples desolated by the anarchy of newly won freedom. The analysis of this "rich heritage" covers Bolívar's chief pronouncements and proposals: the Cartagena manifesto of 1812, the Jamaica letter of 1815, the Angostura constitutional proposal of 1819, and the ambitious projects of 1825 and 1826. The Panama Congress, the brief dream of "regulating" all Spanish America, the Bolivian constitution, the British protectorate, and the Andean federation represent the climax of his career and of his search for sure foundations for authority and order. Nearly half of the book is devoted to these shifting plans and their failure and to the sequel in undisguised dictatorship. Here Señor Belaunde helps us most to understand the mind of his hero, giving personality to the abstraction of political theories and structures. Further analysis would make the interest and value of these chapters still greater. The doctrine of intervention, for instance, which appeared as early as 1821 with the purpose of insuring domestic tranquillity and was nourished by

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Bolívar's growing fear of social conflict, would justify more than passing reference to his anxiety over the danger to white rule from Indian peasants and Negro freedmen. The author recognizes in part but does not enlarge upon the social, cultural, and economic issues lying behind the conflict of ideologies with which he is primarily concerned.

Belaunde warns us of the injustice of evaluating the unique case of Bolívar by normal historical judgment; but, despite occasional romantic and apologetic passages, he presents a balanced estimate of the Liberator's policy. He suggests grounds for doubting Bolívar's disinterestedness by recognizing the latter's identification of his own glory with the peace of America and by leaving his sincerity in some dubious moves an open question. More positive is the condemnation of the Bolivian constitution and the Andean federation. The Angostura plan mirrors for our author the true Bolívar. By 1826 sane realism had been clouded by the flattery of events and of counselors in Peru, and the results were the democratic Caesarism of the life-presidency and the grandiose vision of a supernation. There is much truth in this judgment, but it is questionable whether the constitutional aims of 1819 and of 1826 were of so different a pattern. The powerful executive was vital to Bolívar's earlier, as to his later, designs.

Belaunde's interpretation of the Angostura project makes the senate rather than the president the foundation of the conservative republic. Although he disapproves of the senate's hereditary character, he finds in its "technical capacity and independence of election interests" the salutary principle of the representation of professional corporations. This leaning towards the corporative state is the corollary of his dislike of Jacobin democratism, characterized by the "vice of popular elections", an exaggerated freedom of the press, and the delusion of saving society by constitutions. Equally vigorous and frank is his detestation of provincial localism or what the Spanish Americans call federalism. The ideal of "unity, concentration, solidity and energy" provides the common ground for Belaunde and Bolívar and, like Bolívar's personality, a means of integrating the multiform elements in the political thought and practice of the Spanish-American revolution. For the examination of such a period the principle has peculiar pertinence, and as the instrument of a scholar it has resulted in a work which is useful and challenging. Yet this ideal is too simple and one-sided as a test either for democracy or for Bolívar and the revolution. In its relevance to contemporary criticism of democratic institutions it affords a suggestive but nonetheless limited vantage point for surveying the past—or for judging the present.

Reed College. R. F. Arragon.

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Britain and the Independence of Latin America, 1812-1830: Select Documents from the Foreign Office Archives. Edited by C. K. WEBSTER, University of London. Two volumes. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. xx, 560; xv, 573. $15.00.)

THESE two volumes furnish a collection of documents which will be of great use to students of international relations as well as to students of Latin-American history. Some of the important documents here presented, such as cabinet memoranda of Castlereagh, have already been published, but by far the major part of the papers in this collection have never before been printed. Here and there unessential portions of long documents have been summarized or omitted. All of the documents have been taken from the files of foreign office papers preserved in the Public Record Office.

The first volume is concerned mainly with Latin America. It contains communications between the English government, on the one hand, and Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Central America, Chile, Mexico, and Peru, on the other hand. The second volume is composed of correspondence which passed between Great Britain, on the one side, and European states and the United States, on the other side. These documents constitute only a fraction of the enormous mass of material concerning Latin-American independence which is lodged in the Public Record Office. In general, the work of selection has been well done. The texts have been printed with but slight alterations in matters of capitalization and punctuation. Though the translations of state papers in Spanish and Portuguese in the Record Office are generally better done than those lodged in the National Archives at Washington, it would have been still more useful to investigators to have printed these texts in the original languages. As the compiler himself acknowledges, papers from other divisions of the Record Office than the foreign office would doubtless have illustrated other phases of the Latin-American struggle for independence than those illuminated in these volumes.

As it is, the documents in Webster's collection throw light on many important phases of the Great Revolution in Latin America. Among these are: the attitude of Spain toward her revolted colonies, the policy of world powers toward the protracted struggle, the reception of the original Monroe Doctrine, the formulation of the Polignac Memorandum, the role of England in the adjustment of differences between Brazil and Portugal, and the negotiation of commercial treaties between England and the Latin-American countries.

Not the least useful part of this book is the introduction. Here Professor Webster not only furnishes an admirable survey of the policies of Castlereagh and Canning toward the Latin nations of the New World, preceded

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by an account of the causes and the character of the struggle for Latin-American independence, but also touches interestingly upon various aspects of the policy of other nations toward the Great Revolution.

University of Illinois. WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON.

Boundaries, Possessions, and Conflicts in South America. By GORDON IRELAND, Sometime Assistant Professor of Latin-American Law, Harvard Law School, Lately Professor of Civil and Latin-American Law, Louisiana State University Law School. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1938. Pp. x, 345. $4.50.)

MR. Ireland explains that his book is "an attempt to present in a single volume the factual story of the boundary disputes" of the South American republics. Impartial critics will probably agree that his effort was reasonably successful. Several pertinent events have occurred since he wrote, which he would of course have been glad to include; and others are pending. Any author who deals with current matters must expect his publication to be out of date almost as soon as it is off the press, if not before. The writer's conjectures regarding the relative finality of attempted settlements are probably as intelligent and dependable as humanly possible. Students of such international matters will doubtless wish that he had also included the rest of the Latin-American republics.

His facts, he says, have been gleaned from "hundreds of books", from "reports of a dozen arbitrations", and from records of public officials, especially the foreign ministers of most of the countries. Copious references are given, not only to show authority for the statements made but also to assist others who may desire further light on the subjects treated. Students of South American boundary disputes, especially members of international commissions appointed to deal with them, owe Mr. Ireland a deep debt of gratitude for his pioneer work. He does not claim to have covered everything that might have been included or to have excluded relatively minor matters; but he expresses a hope "that for five or ten who would have left out something that has been put in, there may be but one or two who know of anything omitted that should properly have been included".

The volume consists of three parts called chapters. The first and by far the most important, occupying nearly three fourths of the whole, is entitled "Disputes and Adjustments". It is divided into twenty-six subdivisions, each having its own topic indicating between what two countries each disputed boundary existed and in most cases the section of the common boundary affected. Merely a glance at the topical headings shows that most of the South American countries have had boundary disputes with one or more of their neighbors; and perusal of the treatises under the topics shows the laudable efforts made by the interested governments to adjust the disputes

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by friendly negotiations between the disputants or, when negotiations proved unsuccessful, by arbitrations. In addition to his treatise on each disputed boundary the author has supplied a very carefully drawn, helpful map. His texts and maps are not, however, as well co-ordinated as they might have been. Many places are mentioned in the texts which do not appear on the illustrative maps, and some places given on the maps are not mentioned in the corresponding texts. Furthermore, the texts seldom make mention of the respective illustrative maps, except in the topical headings. If the maps contained all places mentioned in the treatises and no others, and if there had been frequent references in the treatises to the accompanying maps, the compilation would have better realized the ideal which the author says he had in mind of producing a book "easy to read and useful to consult".

The second chapter, entitled "Island Possessions", presents, under nineteen topics, much interesting information concerning out-of-the-way island possessions of various countries; but it is questionable whether it is essential to the main purpose of the publication or adds much of value. The third chapter, entitled "Existing Treaty Relations", contains a very painstaking compilation of pertinent treaties. Four appendixes and an index complete the volume.

Washington, D. C. WILLIAM R. MANNING.

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NOTICES OF OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

GENERAL HISTORY

The Mind of Man: The Story of Man's Conquest of Mental Illness. By WALTER BROMBERG. (New York, Harper, 1937, pp. xiv, 323, $3.50.) The long history of mental disease and of attempts at mental healing is an unusually intriguing and at the same time a most significant theme. One has to be something of an anthropologist, a theologian, and a historian, as well as a psychiatrist, in order to interpret it at all adequately. Dr. Bromberg measures up to these obligations remarkably well and has in consequence provided a historical study which is critical, comprehensive, and well executed. There is none of the encyclopedic or biographical emphasis which has naturally been common among scientists who write history, but rather a smooth continuity and a due regard for general trends. This is especially true of the detailed analysis provided of early faith healing, witchcraft, demoniacal possession, and the various healing cults. It is not clear to what extent original research was involved here, but in any case there was wide reading and intelligent synthesis. I am inclined to question only one portion of the narrative, namely, the presentation of psychoanalysis. Here the psychiatrist is more in evidence than the historian, in that several chapters are devoted to the present nature and prospects—as well as the origins—of this aspect of psychiatry. As explanation and defense this section seems quite adequate, but it hardly maintains the critical historical perspective characteristic of the rest of the study. There is little or no discussion of the dangers or limitations of the technique involved nor any recognition of the essential methodological weakness of a system which has lacked either statistical or experimental verification. RICHARD H. SHRYOCK.

La Perse. By RAYMOND FURON. (Paris, Payot, 1938, pp. 238, 36 fr.) Not the only merit of this volume is its insistence on the continuity of Persian culture regardless of countless waves of invasion. Easily the most significant section treats of the achievements of the present shah (concerning whose rise to power Furon is perhaps most understandably reticent), and here the weaknesses of the regime are carefully pointed out, *e.g.*, the incompetence of natives who become factory superintendents after a totally inadequate training abroad ("ils ont des diplomes et cela suffit"). The student of modern Iran will be interested in a brief résumé of the exploitation of the Iranian oil fields and the tables of imports and exports. There is in this volume, however, little for the serious historian, although the historical sections comprise its greater bulk. The sources employed are almost entirely secondary, and although the author is full of enthusiasm and brings to his subject a meritorious freshness of approach, the history related is exceedingly sketchy and, at times, inaccurate. While it is flattering to the reviewer to have his delineation of Elamite history followed so closely, he could nevertheless wish that a more critical attitude on historical problems had been displayed. Thus Autran's view that the Tamils of India spread the Mithra cult, that they reached the Mediterranean and were the Phoenicians, is mentioned without criticism. Further, says the author, "We know absolutely nothing" of the Medes. Assuredly we know more than the oft-told tale of Herodotus, which is retold in this volume. The statement, "Achaemenid art appears to have produced nothing

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new", is contrary to the facts, and, though the author could not be aware of their importance, the seal impressions on Elamite tablets from Persepolis now being studied in the Oriental Institute will revolutionize our ideas of that art.

GEORGE G. CAMERON.

Conrad Jacob Hiltebrandt's dreifache schwedische Gesandtschaftsreise nach Siebenbürgen, der Ukraine, und Constantinopel, 1656-1658. Edited by FRANZ BABINGER. (Leiden, Brill, 1937, pp. xxx, 259, 6 gld.) Dr. Babinger has edited for general use a memoir which throws light at many points on the seventeenth century life of Poles, Hungarians, Ukrainians, Rumanians, and Turks. He has assembled in his introduction and notes a vast amount of helpful supplementary material and has provided a useful index. Hiltebrandt was a young theological student, who accompanied Gotthard Welling, ambassador of King Charles X of Sweden, on journeys which lasted from May, 1656, to July, 1658. The object was to obtain alliances for the king's great war against Poland. Hiltebrandt leaves it for the most part to his principals to record the political aspects and purposes of the journeys. His interest is revealed in describing the important towns which were visited and the customs, costumes, buildings, and religious interests of the peoples. Incidents of travel and original poems of no especial merit adorn the narrative. Information is given about the products of the regions traversed and about the difficulties of money and exchange. The author made use of diaries written on the journeys and at times in preparing his final manuscript took information from other works (a list is given on page xv).

ALBERT HOWE LYBYER.

The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures, 1504-1700: A Study in Canadian Civilization. By ALFRED GOLDSWORTHY BAILEY. (Saint John, New Brunswick Museum, 1937, pp. 206.) Dr. Bailey has made a painstaking search in the earliest records of the French and English territories of the north for materials which might give a clue to the reciprocal effects of one culture (white) upon another (Indian). As would be expected, he finds that the material and social effects of white upon Indian culture were so destructive as to be practically eradicating. Naturally he has more references to material culture than to social, but even here the knowledge we gain is vague and unsatisfactory. It is of course still more so when he comes to social and spiritual matters. It was the duty of the pioneers to report converts, and report they did. They were astonished, for example, at the place of maple sugar in the economy of the Indians, and they reported their astonishment but very little of the unique "maple sugar complex" itself. Similar and even more naïve are the messages to church and state on social, psychological, religious, philosophical, and ethical matters. It is as if, at the present time, we who have the opportunity to study natives at first hand were to accept our results from the reports of the Department of Indian Affairs. Try as conscientiously as he would, Dr. Bailey has exerted his efforts on sterile soil. The book is useful, however, in gathering together selective material from the *Jesuit Relations*. The author's point of view is largely apologetic, although he does not consistently take sides. The bibliography is a long reading list rather than a selected bibliography of titles pertaining to the subject.

GLADYS A. REICHARD.

The Life of J. H. W. Stuckenberg, Theologian, Philosopher, Sociologist. By JOHN O. EVJEN. (Minneapolis, Lutheran Free Church Publishing Company, 1938, pp. 535, $3.00.) Except in the early part of his career, when he was a chaplain in the Civil War, a pastor for brief periods of one or two Lutheran churches,

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and a professor (1873-80) in Wittenberg College, Stuckenberg had little formal connection with American institutions or activities. He was "absorbed in the rich *Geistesleben* of two continents" and was most at home in Germany, where he spent some seventeen years of his life, during fourteen of which he was pastor of the American Church in Berlin. He interpreted German thought in articles published regularly in the United States and was the author of substantial works on philosophy and sociology, now superseded but considered important in their time. His biographer, having been entrusted with an embarrassing amount of material upon which to draw, has presented in copious detail the facts of his subject's life and has compared his views with those of other scholars in the same fields. It is unfortunate that he did not provide an index, for the book records much that might be suggestive to other writers. HARRIS E. STARR.

Background for Chamberlain: A Turn-of-the-Century Plan for European Peace. By Count SERGAY IULIEVICH VITTE. Translated with an Introduction and Notes by THOMAS C. WILSON. (Philadelphia, 3908 Baltimore Avenue, 1938, pp. 29.) "It seems to the Translator of interest to present here, in the terms used many years ago by Count Vitte [1897; 1905], his own account of his own effort at establishing the peace of Europe in times that were as critical perhaps as the times through which the world is now charting its course. These excerpts . . . taken from his Memoirs are translated fully and accurately here for the first time."

Le Kemalisme. By TEKIN ALP. Preface by Édouard Herriot. (Paris, Alcan, 1937, pp. viii, 298, 30 fr.) Tekin Alp is the Turkish name of Albert Cohen, a Macedonian of Jewish descent, who for some thirty years has been associated with the controlling group of the new Turkey. His book on *The Turkish and Pan-Turkish Ideal* (German text, 1915; English translation, 1917) foreshadowed the present more complete and profound study. The three parts of the book deal with the genesis of Kemalism, the path of Kemalism, and the Kemalist doctrine and ideology. This phraseology credits the leader, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, with forming finally the entire inner structure of the New Turkey. "The Turkish nation shines when it has a hero at its head." The second part recites vigorously the steps of progress in Turkey from 1922 on, such as the separation of religion and state, the reform of hours and the calendar, the change of alphabet, the "Turkizing" of the language, the emancipation of women, the reconstruction of Turkish history, aid to farmers and workers, and humanitarian and artistic developments. The Kemalist ideology is treated according to the six symbolic "arrows": republicanism, nationalism, democracy, statism, laicism, and revolutionism. While most of these ideas are defined substantially as usual, the last takes the form of thorough approval of the revolution conducted by Ataturk, with condemnation of any attempt at a further revolution; and statism is embodied in a plan which combines individual and state capitalism. At the close the author admits that Kemalism is an ideal difficult of attainment in an old country which has long been noted for administrative weakness and corruption. He believes, however, that the "miraculous" progress of the last fifteen years will continue. ALBERT HOWE LYBYER.

Pope Pius the Eleventh. By PHILIP HUGHES. (New York, Sheed and Ward, 1937, pp. x, 318, $3.00.) This is a carefully written study and one which carries an official imprimatur. The material on the Lateran Treaties and the statements in regard to the Abyssinian War and the situations in Germany and Spain are especially interesting.

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Survey of International Affairs, 1936. By ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE, assisted by V. M. BOULTER. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. xiv, 1006, $14.00.) This volume maintains the high level of scholarship and readability that has characterized the earlier annual surveys issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. Among the main themes of this survey are the resurgence of German power, the formation of the Rome-Berlin Axis, the acceleration of rearmament in democratic as well as in totalitarian countries, and the aggravated feeling of insecurity in the lesser European states. There are important sections on world economic affairs by H. V. Hodson, on the Montreux Convention regarding the regime of the Black Sea Straits by D. A. Routh, on the administration of the British Mandate for Palestine by H. Beeley, on the American Continent by Katharine Duff, and on the Far East by G. E. Hubbard. As Professor Toynbee puts it, the most conspicuous and widespread movement in the year 1936 was the retreat "of the forces that, since the peace settlement of A.D. 1920-1, had been supporting a collective system of international relations".

The Politics of Modern Spain. By FRANK E. MANUEL. Foreword by Fritz Morstein Marx. (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1938, pp. xiii, 194, $1.50.)

Burgos Justice: A Year's Experience of Nationalist Spain. By RUIZ VILAPLANA. With a Foreword by Elliot Paul. (New York, Knopf, 1938, pp. 241, $2.00.) In the first of these books the Stalinite Communists, of all the contending groups on both sides in Spain, alone escape the lash of criticism. In the second Ruiz Vilaplana, a commissioner of justice in Burgos, who had been caught in Nationalist territory by the outbreak of the civil war and was out of sympathy with the cause of the rebel government from the outset, relates in detail his experiences with the White terror. ARTHUR S. AITON.

L'enseignement de l'histoire contemporaine et les manuels scolaires allemands, à propos d'une tentative d'accord franco-allemand. [Société de l'Histoire de la Guerre.] (Paris, Alfred Costes, 1938, pp. 104, 8 fr.) This brochure, which is reprinted from the *Revue d'histoire de la guerre mondiale,* may be considered the aftermath of the agreement between certain French and German historians published in the spring of 1937 and translated in the issue of this journal for January, 1938, under the title, " 'War Guilt' in France and Germany". M. Jules Isaac, one of the French participants in the discussion, gives the French side of the negotiations between the two groups; the French evidently feel that they have been badly "let down", not by their German collaborators but by the German authorities, who first sponsored and then practically repudiated the enterprise. This statement is followed by reports in which Professors Isaac, Georges Pagès, Pierre Renouvin, Paul Mantoux, and Étienne Weil-Raynal examine nineteen textbooks in history used in German schools, most of which have been written or revised since 1933. It may be said that French views of what constitutes "tendentious" writing will not always be accepted by American students, but in general the case against the German books is a strong one. What is the use of Hitler's proclaiming that Germany has ended her quarrel with France when German young people are allowed to absorb the perversions of history recorded in these textbooks? In conclusion there is a short statement of the efforts made in France since 1919 to eliminate hatred and tendentious writing from current textbooks. BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT.

Official Map Publications: A Historical Sketch, and a Bibliographical Handbook of Current Maps and Mapping Services in the United States, Canada, Latin America, France, Great Britain, Germany, and Certain Other Countries. By

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WALTER THIELE. Under the direction of A. F. Kuhlman. (Chicago, American Library Association, 1938, pp. xvi, 356, $4.75, planographed.) "The primary purpose of this handbook is to serve as a guide to the map publications which are currently made available by national government mapping services." This purpose has been accomplished most fully in the chapters covering the official maps of the United States and Canada, in which the classified lists of maps are accompanied by explanatory and descriptive comment—an essential for the lay reader who may become a user or purchaser of maps of this type. There are also classified lists of the official maps of Great Britain and Germany, but the British maps covering the colonies and other regions overseas are not listed. Austria, Hungary, Norway, and the Netherlands are dealt with in eight pages, but all the remaining countries of Europe are omitted entirely. The continents of Asia and Africa are likewise omitted. The appendixes survey the maps issued by state governments and by various public planning organizations in the United States, as well as suggested outlines for the classification and cataloguing of maps. The first nine chapters, comprising over a third of the text, present a historical outline of the development of cartography. T. H. THOMAS.

Toponymie de la France. By AUGUSTE VINCENT. (Brussels, Librairie Générale, 1937, pp. 418, 100 fr.) This is an important study of the derivations of place names for the regions included in the France of today. It will be an indispensable tool for philologists, students of French literature, and historians. There is an extended, useful bibliography in the *Ouvrages cités.* G. C. BOYCE.

Index of Research Projects. Volume I. (Washington, Works Progress Administration, 1938, pp. vi, 291.) This is the first volume of a digest and index of the subject matter of relief research projects operated under the auspices of the Civil Works Administration, the several state emergency relief administrations, and the Works Progress Administration. The individual entries are either (1) summaries of final reports prepared on the basis of completed research projects, or (2) descriptions of projects for which summaries were not available at the time of publication. In most cases microfilm reproductions of these reports can be obtained at nominal cost. While the investigations cover the whole range of knowledge, 207 historical projects are listed in addition to overlapping social science investigations. Included are compilations of local and state historical materials and special studies of phases of American military history. Responsibility for research standards is shared by project sponsors.

RICHARD B. MORRIS.

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ANCIENT HISTORY[1]

T. R. S. Broughton

A Political History of Parthia. By NEILSON C. DEBEVOISE. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1938, pp. xliii, 303, $3.00.) The particular strength of this book lies in the fact that the author has given a straightforward account of the Parthian state from its early beginnings to its downfall—an account that has long been needed, for no extensive study of Parthia has appeared since Rawlinson's *Sixth Great Oriental Monarchy* in 1873. He has limited himself to a political outline, but nevertheless, as the archaeological material mounts—from Dura-Europos, Seleucia on the Tigris, and other sites—this book will serve as a valuable framework, for Debevoise has read widely and has marshaled the evidence so that we have a good, consecutive story. The simultaneous appearance, however, of Tarn's *The Greeks in Bactria and India* makes much of the earlier part of Debevoise's book already out of date. The chapter on the Indo-Iranian frontier, for example, must now be thoroughly revised. The whole sweep of Bactrian history is misunderstood, for no one before Tarn has had a clear idea of its meaning. Similarly, Debevoise has missed the real significance of Antiochus IV. This is unfortunate, for Parthia did not exist *in vacuo*, and much depends on a correct understanding of her neighbors. It is encouraging to note, however, that the ancient East is steadily assuming its form, and congratulations are due to Debevoise for his share in the task. C. A. ROBINSON, JR.

Geschichte des Altertums. By EDUARD MEYER. Band III, *Der Ausgang der altorientalischen Geschichte und der Aufstieg des Abendlandes bis zu den Perserkriegen.* Revised edition, edited by Hans Erich Stier. (Stuttgart, J. G. Cotta, 1937, pp. xix, 787, 28 M.) Of the 787 pages of this "third volume" only 96 pages are new. These cover the general history from Tiglath Pileser III to the beginning of the reign of Ashur-bani-apal. For the specialist there are interesting suggestions which he will duly weigh, but for the general reader the material is antiquated. It is no dull event by event narrative; Meyer was never capable of that. There are brilliant bits of synthesis, but the wider synthesis of Assyrian

[1] Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

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culture Meyer could have given us was never written. Internal evidence suggests that the draft was written some time ago (for example, the reviewer's *Sargon* is cited but not his *History of Assyria*) and was later expanded somewhat but not thoroughly. The editor, in his preface, has mentioned a few of the many newly discovered documents which have revolutionized our whole conception of this period of history, but strangely enough neither Meyer nor his editor has mentioned the letters of the royal archives, nearly fifteen hundred contemporary documents, although long before Meyer wrote his draft they were available in the cuneiform and many studies had been made of individual letters. There is the same failure to use the Assyrian business documents. The remainder of the volume consists of reprints. Something might be said for the inclusion of the sketch of Zoroaster and Zoroastrianism, for the account in the first edition was hopelessly inadequate, and many might have missed the more adequate presentation in Meyer's *Christentums*. So much, however, has been learned since, notably the actual quotation of the Gathas in Darius's tomb inscription deciphered by Herzfeld, that this too is out of date. A. T. Olmstead.

Vassal-Queens and Some Contemporary Women in the Roman Empire. By Grace Harriet Macurdy. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1937, pp. xi, 148, $3.00.) This is a book about the "sinister and almost magnificent Herod" and "his baleful sister Salome, a wicked bird of prey", about Augustus's daughter Julia, "brilliant in her lewdness", about Boudicca of Britain, Zenobia of Palmyra, and a number of virtually unknown royal women of the first century A.D. Since we know next to nothing about these women, and since that little comes either from coins, from dedicatory inscriptions, or from odd sentences by various sycophantic writers of the Roman Empire, Professor Macurdy achieves a work of 148 pages by the simple technique of introducing details about the lives of fathers, sons, and brothers. All of which makes a long list of births, deaths, wars, and adulteries but nothing more. The handful of general remarks about the nature of the Roman Empire and its culture are most dogmatic and hardly helpful. Neither the liberal use of adjectives (illustrated by the opening sentence of this notice) nor the naïve approach to comparative sex mores adds to the scientific value of the book. Professor Macurdy's racialism—these vassal-queens lacked "the potent drop that ran in the conquering blood of the Macedonians and produced a Cleopatra"—is particularly unfortunate at the present moment. M. I. Finkelstein.

A History of Roman Religion. By Franz Altheim. Translated by Harold Mattingly. (New York, Dutton, 1938, pp. xi, 548, $5.00.)

Les cultes de mystères: L'ancienne rédemption païenne et le christianisme. By A. Hollard. (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1938, pp. 106, 12 fr.) Professor Altheim is the head of a group of scholars, commonly known as the Frankfurt School, who have in the last ten years developed a point of view about the religion of the Roman Republic which is in many ways novel and which is of great value even when we are not disposed to accept all that it involves. His present volume is much more than a mere translation of the three slim books which appeared earlier under the same title in German. Professor Altheim has incorporated the results of a number of his subsequent inquiries, and the book will be indispensable even to those students who possess the original. Mr. Mattingly's translation has the merit of not reading like a translation, and I can heartily commend the result to all students of ancient history and of the history of religion. My forthcoming review in the *American Journal of Philology* gives a more detailed criticism than space will here permit. M. Hollard shows an enthusiastic interest

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in his subject, and the suggestion (p. 55) that, when the initiate Lucius "trod Proserpina's threshold", he was in fact led by the chief priest before paintings, bas reliefs, sculptures "ou même tableaux vivants", representing the world of the dead, deserves consideration. Nevertheless, I cannot honestly recommend the work as a whole either to specialists or to the general public.

ARTHUR DARBY NOCK.

De Ara Victoriae in Curia Romana Quomodo Certatum Sit. By LEOCADIA MAŁUNOWICZ. (Vilna, Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk w Wilnie, Skład Główny w Księgarni Św. Wojciecha, 1937, pp. 122.) This dissertation, dedicated to the famous fight between the Roman senate, under the leadership of Symmachus, and the church, represented by Ambrosius, is the first comprehensive monograph on the problem in the past fifty years. Paradoxically enough, the main result of the author's critical investigation is that the title of her book is wrong because, as her whole discussion shows and as her general conclusions emphasize, the real issue was not the removal of the altar of Victory from the senate house but the abolition of the material privileges of the Roman priests and temples by the edict of Gratian. To have established definitely this fact and therewith destroyed the widespread belief that the debate about the removal and restoration of the Ara Victoriae was a kind of test case in which the pagan and Christian forces of the late fourth century were lined up to measure their strength is the merit of this book. The careful analysis of the edict of Gratian and the following discussion does not contribute, of itself, any new facts or viewpoints, but the result of this systematic survey is new and important enough. Although the author may underrate the genuine religious interest of both Symmachus and Ambrosius, she is certainly right in stating that the romantic traditionalism of the former as well as the dialectic skill of the latter were used for a purpose largely screened by the oratorical discussion. Another fact resulting from this survey is the use of the image as an abstract symbol, which remained in place during the periods of the removal of the altar. As the author rightly points out, this is in harmony with the use of figures of pagan gods on coins of Christian emperors. It is important in the process of transformation from pagan to Christian art.

KARL LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN.

Coinage and Currency in Roman Britain. By C. H. V. SUTHERLAND. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. xii, 184, plates XIV, $3.50.) In this volume an able numismatist has produced a survey of Roman currency in Britain, based on a study of coin hoards and site-finds. Despite the limitations placed on the interpretations of early hoards owing to laxity of publication, Mr. Sutherland has been successful in giving a clear picture of the currency he treats from all angles of approach. Maximum use has been made of the coin material as historical evidence, thus making the study useful to every student of the Roman period. For in the coinage there are reflected the activities of the central government, military operations of Roman legions on the island itself, British reactions to economic and monetary policies of the empire, and a possible alliance of Britain with the short-lived Gallic empire of Postumus and the Tetrici. The author makes full use of evidence supplied by the semi-official copies which existed alongside the regular coins throughout the Roman period in Britain. These pieces were manufactured, most likely, to supplement an insufficient amount of currency. Important to numismatists are two appendixes devoted to problems of dating and classification of the latest of these imitations, the so-called "radiate" copies. Fourteen excellent plates reproduce local copies of Roman coin types and serve mainly to illustrate the material discussed in these appendixes. A third

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appendix lists with bibliographies the hoards on which the discussions of the main text are based. Because such a mass of material has been compressed into the 114 pages of discussion, the volume will not be found easy to read. Unfortunate also is the index, which, designed as it is for the numismatist, will prove useless to the historian in locating the material of greatest interest to him.

SAWYER MCA. MOSSER.

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MEDIEVAL HISTORY

G. C. Boyce

Seven Centuries of the Problem of Church and State. By Frank Gavin. [The Spencer Trask Lectures.] (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1938, pp. 132, $2.00.) The late author of these four lectures has managed to secure some unity through his introductory remarks to which he recurs from time to time in later chapters. Starting in the first lecture with the fundamental problem of adjustment between theory and practice, Dr. Gavin moves almost at once to a detailed discussion of Justinian and his contributions to canon as well as civil law. The second lecture, centered in Charlemagne and Gregory VII, is based largely on Mirbt, *Die Publizistik zur Zeitalter Gregors VII.* The short third lecture evidences the first "modernity" with its discussion of John of Salisbury and St. Bernard. The last begins with a critique of Thomas Aquinas and concludes with a discussion of the fundamental problem stated in the first. The text is amply supported by notes, which contain references to more than one hundred and fifty primary and secondary sources, exclusive of repetitions. It is unfortunate that the proofreaders overlooked so many irregularities in footnote form. Happily the text is not marred by similar imperfections, and one can follow with ease and pleasure the author's sane, unbiased analysis. The nature of the material dealt with precludes great originality of treatment. Dr. Gavin does not attempt to settle all problems, but, after examining the evidence, he leaves the reader with a set of stimulating questions in his mind. Lester K. Born.

Versuche zur Wiedererrichtung der lateinischen Herrschaft in Konstantinopel im Rahmen der abendländischen Politik, 1261 bis etwa 1310. By Erwin Dade. (Jena, Walter Biedermann, 1938, pp. xvii, 158, 4.80 M.) This book deals with the interesting question of the attempts to re-establish the Latin power in Constantinople from 1261 to about 1310 in connection with the general West European policy of that time. It consists of two parts: the first is devoted to plans for a crusade against Constantinople formulated by Charles of Anjou (pp. 5-71); the second part deals with the attempts to organize a crusade by Charles of Valois, brother of Philip IV of France, and the Catalan companies, which at that time were active in the East (pp. 72-157). The year 1310 as that in which the book ends is explained by the fact that in that year the Catalans took possession of the Duchy of Athens and ceased to have any connection with crusading projects. The book is based upon a wide knowledge of numerous and

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various original sources, both Byzantine and West European, and of secondary works. It deals especially with political events and diplomatic combinations of the epoch and touches upon social and economic conditions only casually. The author shows the extreme importance of Charles of Anjou's movement against Byzantium, when for a time the very existence of the Eastern Empire was threatened by the powerful king of the two Sicilies, whose successful advance was stopped, and stopped forever, by the Sicilian Vespers in 1282. Dade shows that the next period, that of Charles of Valois and the Catalans, was much less important. It never progressed beyond negotiations and plans, so that it held no real danger for the politically impotent empire of the Palaeologi. The book contains a good list of sources and literary works, but unfortunately it has no index. A. VASILIEV.

Episcopal Appointments and Patronage in the Reign of Edward II: A Study in the Relations of Church and State. By WALDO E. L. SMITH. (Chicago, American Society of Church History, 1938, pp. xv, 144, $2.25.) Episcopal appointments are treated in the first two chapters and patronage in the last four. Each subject is introduced by a brief sketch of its earlier history. The appointments to English sees during the reign of Edward II are followed chronologically. It is convenient to have the details of each appointment, though they do not lead to significant new conclusions. The study of patronage is not designed to be comprehensive. It is confined primarily to disputed cases, the attempt of Edward II to fill vacant benefices in episcopal patronage when the temporalities were in his hands without vacancies in the sees, the royal exercise of the rights of advowson possessed by the confiscated alien priories, and the effect of *Execrabilis* upon royal patronage. In large measure it supplements Miss Deeley's article on "Papal Provision and Royal Rights of Patronage in the Early Fourteenth Century" (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XLIII, 497-527), supplying additional evidence and some divergent conclusions. The book concludes with an appendix of documents drawn almost entirely from manuscripts. The treatment of these topics is not exhaustive. The author, for example, has not used the registers of Clement V published *in extenso* by the Benedictines but has contented himself with the summaries of Bliss, which are not always trustworthy. In addition to the printed episcopal registers he has consulted some of the most important available only in manuscript, but further exploration of the diocesan archives would yield some additional material. On the other hand, he has searched some of the manuscripts in the Public Record Office to great advantage. Particularly valuable is the information which he has derived from the plea rolls concerning disputes between king and pope over patronage. W. E. LUNT.

Bo Jonsson. I. *Till 1375.* By STEN ENGSTRÖM. (Uppsala, Wretmans Boktryckeri A.-B., 1935, pp. xxxi, 331.) This is the story of the most remarkable man in Swedish medieval annals. From 1354 to his death in 1386 he was the most active, the most powerful, and the most feared man in Sweden. By dubious transactions he reached high position in the Folkung dynasty under King Magnus and the highest position in the realm in the Mecklenburg dynasty under King Albert. Before his death, nevertheless, he struck a blow at royal, particularly German, usurpation of power in Sweden and in favor of the aristocracy. His Shylock methods garnered for him larger holdings than any man in Sweden as well as the disfavor of his contemporaries. Munch, Styffe, Tunberg, and especially Holger Rossman have written on the life of this unique and neglected character. Engström differs from Rossman in emphasizing the political activities of Bo, which were more or less subordinated in Rossman's work, and

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this makes his study particularly significant for the critical epoch in which Swedish nationalism made its appearance under the leadership of the aristocracy as against royalist intervention. Engström's book is more than a biography; it is a detailed study of the important period in which Swedish national sentiment was born. Unfortunately, only the first part has been finished, and the author expresses doubt whether he will ever find time to complete the study. He relies to a great extent on printed and manuscript sources and corrects misreadings of original texts by editors of printed collections of sources as well as misinterpretations of such materials by former writers. The footnotes abound in new and valuable information. The language of the text is clear and forceful, at times even elegant. DAVID K. BJORK.

Records of some Sessions of the Peace in Lincolnshire, 1360-1375. Edited by ROSAMOND SILLEM. (Hereford, Lincoln Record Society, 1937, pp. xcii, 325, 25*s*.) Once relegated to the limbo of antiquarian inquiry, English local court minutes have lately come into their own as historical sources fully as important as the more impressive records of the central courts. In these pages Miss Sillem has resurrected rolls of the sessions held by Lincoln justices of peace in the parts of Holland, Kesteven, and Lindsey in 1360, 1361, and 1373, and to supplement the meager data found in the minutes she has transcribed king's bench and gaol delivery rolls containing references to the cases initiated at sessions. The social and economic historian will find here a picture of labor and business conditions and much information on governmental regulation of prices and wages. For the genealogist the editor's faithful transcription will supply a wealth of material on family and place names. The legal historian may be disappointed because these records fail to furnish any indication that felonies were tried at sessions, although the editor points out that justices of peace were given authority by their commissions in 1373 to hear and determine felonies. Furthermore, there is no clear evidence of trials for trespass at sessions since these, the only extant sessions minutes, were for the most part a record merely of cases prepared for delivery into king's bench or gaol delivery, and the clerk of the upper court, in line with later practice, may simply have endorsed king's bench or gaol delivery findings on the sessions record. THOMAS R. NAUGHTON.

Year Books of Richard II: 11 Richard II, 1387-1388. Edited by ISOBEL D. THORNLEY, with a Commentary upon the Cases by THEODORE F. T. PLUCKNETT. (Cambridge, Ames Foundation, Harvard Law School, 1937, pp. lxii, 351.) This volume is the third of a series covering consecutively the middle years of Richard II. In spite of a political upheaval which at the time caused several of the justices to be impeached and condemned, no disturbance appears in the even tenor of the courts. As to the practice of reporting and the construction of the year books little is added to what has already been well said (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXV, 652), but in the compilation of the court rolls Miss Thornley points to the evidence of certain marginal notes on the membranes, which were sometimes concealed in the binding and sometimes cut off in the trimming. It is believed that these were the rough memoranda from which the clerk made up the final record, depending for the rest upon his discretion and a fallible memory. Taken in connection with the abridgments of Fitzherbert and others, these notes, so far as they survive, are useful in framing abstracts of the cases. In at least one instance a misunderstanding of Fitzherbert is corrected. Among the various actions at law perhaps the greatest novelty appears in what is known as trespass on the case, which was based on neither tort nor contract, as when a physician failed to effect a cure or when a horsetrader sold a diseased animal.

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The action of account was being extended from its original purpose to cover the liability of a carrier on the road. A case of uses in the common pleas is a reminder of the possibility that such interests might have remained under the common law, while other examples, as when deeds were withheld by fraud and force, make evident the need of courts of equity. In the elucidation of such problems the editorial chapters are most valuable. J. F. BALDWIN.

Calendar of the Close Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office. Henry IV. Volume V, *Index Volume, 1399-1413.* (London, H. M. Stationery Office; New York, British Library of Information, 1938, pp. viii, 948, $12.80.) A separate index volume for the calendars of a reign, instead of an index for each volume, is of doubtful convenience; but the extensive use of such topical headings as "proclamations", "taxation", "ships and shipping" is most helpful.

Calender of the Close Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office. Henry VI. Volumes III and IV, *1435-47.* (London, H. M. Stationery Office; New York, The British Library of Information, 1937, pp. vii, 721; vii, 678, $10.50; $9.25.) The text of these two volumes was prepared by the late W. H. B. Bird, and the second of them was indexed and seen through the press by the late J. R. Crompton, to whom many visitors of the Public Record Office owe a debt of gratitude. They contain little on the broader aspects of English history which is not in print elsewhere, but in details of administration, family relationships, and local topography they are rich. Recognizances, quitclaims, gifts, grants of annuities, instructions to local officials fill the pages. Yet from these *trivialia* emerges some information of moment. Most revealing perhaps of the quitclaims is that of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, in favor of the king's new college at Eton. Evidence of the council functioning as a court, a function affirmed by parliament in 1454 and 1487 *(pro camera stellata),* is not infrequent. Disturbers of the peace, especially in the North, were summoned before it. We may now read the regulation of March 3, 1439, repeating and enforcing one of 1430, which ordered men having £40 a year in lands and rents to take upon themselves the order of knighthood. Some of the results of scarcity and plague in 1438 are indicated. H. L. GRAY.

Isaac Abravanel: Six Lectures. With an Introductory Essay by H. Loewe. Edited by J. B. TREND and H. LOEWE. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1937, pp. xxvii, 157, $2.50.) Most impressive among the numerous celebrations of the Abravanel quingentenary was that held at Cambridge University in the autumn of 1937. The six lectures delivered on that occasion, and now permanently recorded, cover a wide range, from Professor Llubera's general survey of Spain in the age of Abravanel to A. R. Milburn's brief summary of the life and philosophy of Leone Ebreo, Don Isaac's son. The greater part of the book is devoted to an examination of the elder Abravanel's literary and exegetical work by Doctors Gaster and Rabinowitz, and of his philosophic and political teachings by Dr. Leo Strauss. Don Isaac's political views are well summed up in Dr. Strauss's brilliant essay as the restatement of "the aristocratic and anti-monarchist view of Josephus in terms of the Christian distinction between the authority spiritual and the authority temporal" (p. 127). Abravanel's life is much more briefly treated in the first lecture by Paul Goodman and, with some amplification in detail, in H. Loewe's introductory essay. Because of the great latitude left to the individual authors and the editors' self-imposed restraint there is an enormous amount of repetition. Even more regrettable is the almost exclusive emphasis upon Abravanel's literary achievements,

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which—like those of many of his Christian contemporaries writing for the highly appreciative Renaissance audience—found immediate and widespread acclaim far beyond their intrinsic merits. One looks here in vain for a detailed examination of Abravanel's practical attainments as the fiscal adviser of two monarchies and one republic and as the recognized leader of his coreligionists during the great crisis of their exile from Spain in 1492. SALO W. BARON.

The Two Earliest Masonic MSS.: The Regius MS. (B. M. Bibl. Reg. 17 A1), the Cooke MS. (B. M. Add. MS. 23198). Transcribed and edited by DOUGLAS KNOOP, G. P. JONES, and DOUGLAS HAMER. (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1938, pp. viii, 215, 12*s.* 6*d.*) The editors here add another significant study to those they have already published on the history of masonry. Students of the history of building, medieval social customs, and language will find much of interest in these poems and in the excellent introductory essay.

Franciscan History and Legend in English Mediaeval Art. Edited by A. G. LITTLE. [British Society of Franciscan Studies.] (Manchester, University Press, 1937, pp. xix, 118, 21*s.*) Essays on wall painting, screen painting, glass, embroideries, illuminated manuscripts, sculpture, and seals make up this volume. There are excellent illustrations, of the high quality to be expected from Emery Walker Ltd., although the material has iconographical rather than aesthetic interest. There is, unfortunately, no attempt to relate the subject matter of the essays and the illustrations to medieval English art as a whole.

ELEANOR PATTERSON SPENCER.

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MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

W. F. Craven

Strafford. By the Earl of Birkenhead. (London, Hutchinson, 1938, pp. 351, 21*s*.) It is probably significant that three full-length biographies of the Earl of Strafford have been published during the last seven years, but if so, it concerns the present. Those interested in the seventeenth century can be grateful

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that the Earl of Birkenhead has been given access to the Wentworth Woodhouse archives, a privilege of which he has made excellent use. He has also searched the archives of the Duke of Rutland at Belvoir, of Lord Saye and Sele, and of Mr. Jervoise of Herriard. From the last he prints an extract from an unpublished parliamentary diary of 1626. Although his study contains no bibliography and but a scanty index, text and notes show a careful use of published works. Manuscript materials appear to be excellently chosen and transcribed. He writes easily and vividly. The picture of Strafford, one of the greatest administrators England has ever produced, seldom differs from that drawn by earlier biographers but is the clearest and best that has appeared. Unlike his predecessors, the Earl of Birkenhead believes that Strafford (then Sir Thomas Wentworth) retained his leadership of the parliament of 1628 to the close of the session and agrees with Miss Wedgwood in attributing to him the new energy of the privy council in the early thirties. Admiration for his subject's honesty, efficiency, and unquenchable loyalty, together with the spectacle of a trial during which Strafford, an invalid wracked by exhaustion and physical pain, dauntlessly defended himself against his merciless enemies, perhaps leads the author to minimize Black Tom's haughty pride and domineering, irascible temper. Strafford's own age, as well as later ones, recognized that the execution was based upon "a terrified disregard of humanity, honour, and the sanctity of law", but few have hitherto coupled it with democracy's "surging into triumph through murder, war, and desolation". G. W. GRAY.

The Domesday of Crown Lands: A Study of the Legislation, Surveys, and Sales of Royal Estates under the Commonwealth. By SIDNEY J. MADGE. [London School of Economics and Political Science.] (London, Routledge, 1938, pp. xvii, 499, 25*s*.) "Critical examination of evidence is the dullest kind of historical research", the author of the present volume quotes a previous writer as saying, "and the analysis of surveys is the dullest kind of critical work." Nonetheless, with a spirit of patient industry which is as admirable as it is rare, Mr. Madge has plunged into one of the most difficult, obscure, and complicated studies imaginable and has produced a work which—allowing for all the criticism it is sure to evoke—is a marvel of minute and meticulous investigation. After an introductory section on the crown lands before the Stuart period, he begins his study with the transfers of those possessions during the Commonwealth, their surveys and sales, and concludes with the restoration of them at the accession of Charles II, with some observations on their later history—actually, in his last paragraph, noting their revenue in 1936 and Lord Hugh Cecil's observation in the *Times* of May, 1937, to the effect that the profits of the crown lands, which are now administered by parliamentary commissioners, "more than defray the cost of maintaining the dignity of the Crown", so that the king would be richer if, as once, he "lived of his own". The mass of materials is so vast, the references and miscellaneous information, supplemented by an enormous bibliography and appendixes which in turn supplement the bibliography, are so extensive, that one wonders how one lifetime—or several—sufficed to produce this weighty and impressive contribution. It is, and it must be, only an introduction to its subject, a guide to its materials, at once a promise and a threat to the investigator of social history. It would be easy to find fault with little problems of statement, but in spite of all the criticisms which may be leveled against it, this must remain an enduring monument to the industry of the author and an invaluable guide to all searchers in this field. W. C. ABBOTT.

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History of the Bombay Army. By Sir PATRICK CADELL. (New York, Longmans, 1938, pp. xv, 362, $7.00.) The Bombay Army began its career as an English regiment sent to garrison the colony that came to Charles II as part of Katherine of Braganza's dowry. It soon became necessary to recruit the regiment locally, and some of the most interesting sections of this book describe the native races who enlisted. Marathas always provided the bulk of the army; and in the World War some of its best fighters were the Mahsuds, who at the same time were very troublesome in India. The importance of European officers repeatedly appears; they might be "base-born adventurers" who "could not live without flesh and strong drink", but without them the sepoy would not give of his best. The army's operations expanded with the growth of the British Empire in India but were not confined to India. Bombay troops were sent against the French in Egypt in 1801; they provided most of the forces employed in the Persian War of 1856 and the Abyssinian War of 1867; they were brought to Malta to impress Russia in the war scare of 1878; and in the World War Bombay troops did well on the western front as well as in Mesopotamia and East Africa. In this long story defeats are remarkably few, though Maiwand gave Bombay regiments an undeserved bad name. The author has used Indian sources as well as English, and his narrative is clear and readable; but the general reader may wish that he had given more of the political background of the wars he describes.

RICHARD GLOVER.

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series. October 1, 1683-April 30, 1684. May 1, 1684-February 5, 1685. Edited by F. H. BLACKBURNE DANIELL and FRANCIS BICKLEY. (London, H. M. Stationery Office; New York, The British Library of Information, 1938, pp. xx, 511; xxxi, 462, $7.75 each.) These two volumes are of great value for the light which they shed on the main features of the then prevailing "Tory Reaction". Officialdom is engaged in a sustained and often successful effort to ferret out and punish all persons connected with subversive plots. The Duke of York is again at the king's side and once more flies the flag of the admiral of England. Rumors of an impending parliament are occasionally current but are dispelled by official pronouncement. The Stationers Company and Sir Roger L'Estrange are actively endeavoring to suppress seditious publications. Moreover, materials here made available accent the importance of the equally strenuous effort of the day to regulate municipal corporations and the liveried companies of London. Surrenders and petitions, references and warrants, orders for court action and pertinent correspondence, all afford evidence of intense activity in this regard. It is regrettable, however, that more discriminating treatment has not been accorded the warrants and accompanying "papers of heads" for the new charters which were the ultimate result of such regulations. Since significant details, recognized as such by the editors in some entries and in their prefaces, are so often omitted, it is not possible to form effective generalizations on the basis of the printed evidence. Included in the volumes are interesting references to interlopers in the East India and Guinea trade, to the fortunes of the Bermuda Company, and to the practice of transporting malefactors. A notable series of newsletters appears in the volume for 1684-85, while the calendared documents of 1683-84 present convincing evidence of the importance of the office of secretary of state when Sir Lionel Jenkins was its incumbent.

R. H. GEORGE.

Isaac Newton, 1642-1727. By J. W. N. SULLIVAN. With a Memoir of the Author by Charles Singer. (New York, Macmillan, 1938, pp. xx, 275, $2.50.) This volume

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makes little contribution to an understanding of Newton's import. It adds nothing of vital moment to Professor More's study, nor does it supply a fresh and stimulating synthesis. Although it lacks the conventional trappings of scholarship, it is clear that Mr. Sullivan relies upon the standard sources and authorities. His purpose, indeed, is neither to add to the source material nor, presumably, to interpret the sociological significance of Newtonian science. As in his earlier volumes, Mr. Sullivan essays to tint the pale abstractions of learning with the color of life and to translate the language of genius into the vernacular of meaning. Despite Mr. Singer's noble Memoir, Newton remains palely angelic. Glimpses of throbbing personality occasionally emerge in the correspondence with Hooke and Leibnitz, but the well-known facts—that Newton was exhausted by his scientific labors, that he regarded other matters as of more importance than scientific research, that he completed his major scientific work at an early age—support no novel correlations. Few will question that the hypotheses of science and the creators of scientific hypotheses require prolonged historical analysis, but few will find that this book makes Newton less remote or Newtonian implications socially meaningful. As Mr. Sullivan's view of certain aspects of Newton's life it has value, but it is hard to share Mr. Singer's feeling that this book can be ranked with Sullivan's best. BERT JAMES LOEWENBERG.

Admiral Arthur Phillip: Founder of New South Wales, 1738-1814. By GEORGE MACKANESS. (Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1937, pp. xvi, 536, 12*s.* 6*d.*) Dr. Mackaness, who has already written substantial biographies of Admiral Bligh and Sir Joseph Banks, gives us in the present volume a detailed study of Admiral Phillip. He has made a painstaking examination of documents bearing on Phillip's life before his appointment to New South Wales. Little or nothing is revealed that would help to explain Phillip's career at Sydney, and without this significance this part of the story remains rather pointless and dull. Fortunately it is also short. The final section of the book, which deals with Phillip's life after his return from Australia, suffers from the same defect as the first. It is neither significant in itself, nor does it throw any essential light back on the Australian period. When Phillip sails away from Sydney the reader will wish rather to remain behind to see what happened after Phillip's hand had been withdrawn. Despite the biographical form, Dr. Mackaness's story is centered on Sydney, not on Phillip. Even in the Australian period it is Phillip the administrator rather than Phillip the man who stands revealed. With this limitation the picture drawn is consistent and vivid. It was a small world Phillip was called upon to rule. It did not require great administrative ability. What it did require was morale, and this little man had that steadfastness which was essential. The author refuses to be drawn beyond his records. While this has set bounds to his biographical interpretation, it has enabled him to present us with a fresh, detailed, and thoroughly scholarly account of this critical period in the history of New South Wales, with many details of the development of the dependency of Norfolk Island thrown in for good measure. There is an elaborate bibliography and a useful index. The addition of a map to show the relation of Sydney to the area surrounding it which was explored by Phillip would have been useful. W. MENZIES WHITELAW.

William Cowper, Humanitarian. By LODWICK C. HARTLEY. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1938, pp. ix, 277, $2.50.) In this study Dr. Hartley has made an important contribution toward filling the twilight zone between English literature and English history. He has not merely availed himself of the Cowper materials but has also drawn upon his wide knowledge of

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eighteenth century poets, minor as well as major, novelists, pamphleteers, and other fugitive writers, hitherto not analyzed and synthesized for this purpose. He has digested these masses of materials, organized them with clarity and skill, and made the book good reading besides. The notes alone are invaluable, if not indispensable, for a study of the later eighteenth century decades of humanitarian movements. They happily contain a select critical bibliography with specific references and might well have been covered in the index to the volume. It is commendable, moreover, that the author has reversed the order of many modern biographers: instead of reveling in a great man's physical or mental peculiarities, he has devoted himself to the more difficult task of explaining the power and the significance of the leading poet of evangelicalism and humanitarianism. William Cowper used his abilities as a writer in part to further the crusades of his time: education, pacifism, kindness to animals, legal reforms, missionary activity, fair play for India, and abolition of the slave trade. His part in each of these movements, in the days before the emergence of the modern state, Dr. Hartley traces with great clarity. This study is indispensable to all students of eighteenth century humanitarianism. FRANK J. KLINGBERG.

The Harp that Once—A Chronicle of the Life of Thomas Moore. By HOWARD MUMFORD JONES. (New York, Holt, 1937, pp. xvi, 365, $3.50.) Moore's own age thought highly of him. He was paid £3000 for *Lalla Rookh,* £3500 for the *Life of Byron,* and £3000 was paid for his own *Memoirs.* He wrote a novel, he wrote biography, he wrote history. The collected edition of his poems fills ten volumes, and Lord John Russell required eight volumes for his life of Moore. Somewhat annoyed by the now prevalent opinion that Moore was overrated and overpaid in his own lifetime, Professor Jones tries to show that he was not only a considerable poet but also a consistent idealist, satirist, and political thinker, who "killed himself in the service of Ireland". Perhaps the very difficulty of the task challenged the biographer. For, as he shows, the Irish patriot began as an admirer of the prince regent, shifted to personal satire of the regent, shifted to violent advocacy of reform, and then shifted to attacking reform, each shift being followed by better pay, better prospects, or more pension. But his biographer, following him through all the complexities of charge and countercharge, concludes that Moore's integrity as a patriot remains. Nor will Professor Jones let Moore's poetical fame rest on the three or four songs known to everyone. He cites many unfamiliar passages, of which he asserts flatly: "The brief quotations given offer to the trained ear a wealth of prosodic invention, a treasury of technical resource which neither Byron nor Wordsworth ever acquired". Probably the untrained ear will continue to prefer the work of the great romantic poets, but at least it has been given a chance to make comparisons. C. W. EVERETT.

England seit 1815: Politik, Volk, Wirtschaft. By CARL BRINKMANN. Revised edition. (Berlin, Junker und Dünnhaupt, 1938, pp. 342, 7.50 M.) The original edition of Professor Brinkmann's *England seit 1815* (*Am. Hist. Rev.,* XXX, 644) ended with the approach of the World War. In extending a second edition to include the war and the postwar era Professor Brinkmann has done more than append additional chapters; both in text and bibliography he has recast the original to give the whole a new unity of design. The new chapters—virtually a world history from 1914 to 1938—have been constricted, *mirabile dictu,* into forty-six pages, a feat in brevity beside which many an encyclopedia article might seem discursive. A less gifted writer would have reduced such a task to something like a catalogue, but with a skill wholly remarkable Professor Brinkmann

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contrives to impart to this closely packed multitude of details a clear sense of direction and connectedness and to impose a judgment upon men and events revealing the sure touch of critical scholarship. The bibliography is confined to standard published books, the biographical kind predominating. It seems inexplicable that Edward VIII is nowhere mentioned by name, nor is reference made to the circumstances of his abdication. Oddly enough, also, Hitler and Mussolini are, perhaps respectfully, omitted, though lesser contemporary personages from the entire world overcrowd the picture. The author's preoccupation with the unitary character of the British Commonwealth of Nations may have induced him to let the Ottawa Conference and the Statute of Westminster edge out such matters as the completion of woman's suffrage, reconstruction in local government, and the recent impetus towards rearmament. The book is meant to portray for Germans the British model of a dignified, sane, and successful world imperialism. Nevertheless, English readers, used to an English flavor in British history, will find both challenge and stimulus from this concise, German presentation of a well-worn theme. C. E. FRYER.

Gladstone. By ERICH EYCK. Translated by Bernard Miall. (London, Allen and Unwin, 1938, pp. 506, 15*s*.) The author, a non-Aryan German now living in London, was a prominent attorney in Berlin before the wave of national hysteria drove him into exile. Depressed and bewildered by the mad actions of the present generation, he has evidently sought escape by studying the past. In the political thought and work of Gladstone he has found evidence of the courage and the vision lacking in the men who now seemingly guide the destinies of Europe. The great English statesman has become his hero. The Gladstone portrayed by Dr. Eyck is the man of faith, the leader in the fight for liberty and justice, the denouncer of King Bomba and the unspeakable Turk. Few sources have been tapped, but Dr. Eyck has read widely on the life and work of Gladstone and his contemporaries. The biography is devoted almost exclusively to the public life of Gladstone. The author's legal training and experience are revealed in the logical arrangement of the material and in the way he presents his facts. The story is told more clearly and vividly than is usually the case with historical narratives, especially when the author is a German, and the translation is so excellent that the reader is not conscious of it. A few slips have been noted, but the book is in general very accurate. PAUL KNAPLUND.

The Migration of British Capital to 1875. By LELAND HAMILTON JENKS, Professor of Social Institutions, Wellesley College. (New York, Knopf, 1938, pp. 442, $4.00.) This standard treatise, originally published in 1927 and out of print for some time, has been reissued as of 1938, presumably in anticipation of Professor Jenks's further studies.

Public Service in Great Britain. By HIRAM MILLER STOUT. With an Introduction by W. Y. Elliott. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1938, pp. xx, 189, $2.50.) As Professor Elliott points out in his cordial introduction to Dr. Stout's brief study, its reconsideration of the already much discussed British civil service is justified by the novelty of relating it continuously to public policy and to parliament's control of public policy. The product is an unpretentious but assured account for the general student which is kept both intimate and interesting by apt use of anecdotal illustration. Naturally it is somewhat more comprehensive and unhurried in description than in critical analysis, but the objects and tenor of adverse criticism and the defensive replies are fairly enough indicated to give the reader ground for his own conclusions. A good many com-

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plexities have to be rather loosely generalized, notably the problem of the technical expert within the service and in relation to parliament, the vague legality and intricacy of the pension system, the role of establishment officers, and so on. Dr. Stout occasionally errs, as in a statement about Joseph Chamberlain at the colonial office (p. 160), where, misled by Charles Buller's quip about Mr. Mother Country, he completely overlooks Lord John Russell and Earl Grey. In general, however, he shows close acquaintance with the past two or three generations in Great Britain, he maintains a critical approach, and he is able to call convincingly upon French, German, and American comparisons to heighten the effectiveness of his treatise. J. B. BREBNER.

The Crucial Problem of Imperial Development. With a Foreword by the Right Hon. MALCOLM MACDONALD. (New York, published for the Royal Empire Society by Longmans, 1938, pp. xiii, 201, $2.40.) This book is a report of a conference on economic development within the British Empire, which was convened in 1937 by the Royal Empire Society. Its somewhat ambitious aim was to survey the possibilities of increasing production and consumption, and to this purpose it discusses such comprehensive and diverse topics as encouraging village industries, agricultural co-operation, raising of dietary standards, educating women, and increasing capital investment in different parts of the empire. Its proposals are vague, and its chief value lies in the accounts given of the attempts which have already been made to deal with the individual problems of each country. The index is inadequate. R. MACG. DAWSON.

India Office Library Catalogue of Manuscripts in European Languages. Volume II, part II, section I, *Minor Collections and Miscellaneous Manuscripts, Nos. 1-538.* By the late GEORGE RUSBY KAYE and EDWARD HAMILTON JOHNSTON. (London, H. M. Stationery Office for the India Office, 1937, pp. xix, 1167, 30*s.*) Two earlier parts of this catalogue appeared in 1916 (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXIII, 704). The appearance of this section, as well as the announcement of other sections and parts, is very welcome.

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FRANCE, BELGIUM, AND THE NETHERLANDS

S. B. Clough

The House of Guise. By HENRY DWIGHT SEDGWICK. (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1938, pp. 324, $5.00.) This is an attempt at a popular presentation of the subject rather than a work of scholarship. To the author the Guises appear as romantic heroes, and consequently their role during the so-called wars of religion is glorified. Concerning Henry, the third duke of Guise, he writes that it was through the efforts of this duke "more than by those of any other man, that France was kept a member of Latin Christendom" (p. 300). Considerable attention is devoted to the famous women of the period—Diane de Poitiers, Antoinette de Bourbon, Marguerite de Valois, Catherine de Médicis, and others. In addition to using some of the conventional histories of the sixteenth century, Mr. Sedgwick quotes rather extensively from the poets of the age, including Ronsard, Du Bellay, Baïf, and Dorat, while the racy memoirs of Brantôme provide many an amusing anecdote. The book contains a number of attractive illustrations, a useful chronological table, and a serviceable index. The brief bibliography is unsatisfactory in form and in arrangement, and there are a number of significant omissions. Seemingly the author has not made use of such documentary collections of this period as those compiled by L. P. Gachard, L. Paris, and others. There are a few mistakes in dates. Although this book has little for the scholar, it may serve its purpose of entertaining the layman.

BERNERD C. WEBER.

Correspondance de la cour d'Espagne sur les affaires des Pays-Bas. Tome VI, *Supplément, 1598-1700.* By JOSEPH CUVELIER and JOSEPH LEFÈVRE. [Académie Royale de Belgique, Commission Royale d'Histoire.] (Brussels, Palais des Académies, 1937, pp. x, 919.) This is the final volume of a calendar of documents

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dealing with the history of the Spanish Netherlands during the seventeenth century. The preparation of this calendar was undertaken by Henri Lonchay in 1906 and was continued after his death by Cuvelier and Lefèvre. This volume contains supplements to documents published in the first five volumes.

HENRY S. LUCAS.

Études sur l'histoire administrative et sociale de l'ancien régime. Published under the direction of GEORGES PAGÈS. [Société d'Histoire moderne.] (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1938, pp. 223, 40 fr.) These articles have all appeared in recent numbers of the *Revue d'histoire moderne*. Their subjects are closely related, however, and it is convenient to have them in this form. M. Pagès studies the beginnings of the separation of the *conseil du roi* into more or less separate divisions at the time of Louis XIII, when it was still predominantly a single council. M. Bouteron edits an extremely interesting memoir written by B.-F. Balzac, father of the novelist, which makes very clear the organization and working of the council in the reign of Louis XVI. Two useful studies on the *subdélégués* follow, one by M. Ricommard on their seventeenth century beginnings, the other a detailed analysis of the role of the *subdélégués généraux* in eighteenth century Brittany. From the two together one gets a clear notion of the *ad hoc* beginnings of the work done under the intendants and of the almost Anglo-Saxon planlessness under which the institutions of the later *ancien régime* grew up. Mlle. Suzanne Monniot contributes an essay in economic rather than in administrative history, an analysis of the role of the forests in Franche-Comté from 1774 to 1789 but with a good deal of useful detail on the attempt to control bureaucratically this phase of economic activity. Finally M. Heumann writes about Antoine Feydeau, head both of the *ferme des aides* and the *gabelles,* a financier and administrator who went hopelessly bankrupt in 1624. His essay is of especial value as showing that something like the interconnection between private speculation, government finance, and tax-collecting represented by the career of John Law was possible a century earlier.

CRANE BRINTON.

English Witnesses of the French Revolution. Edited by J. M. THOMPSON. (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1938, pp. xii, 267, 10*s.* 6*d.*) So comprehensive has been the search which Mr. Thompson has made for his witnesses and so sure his judgment in the selection of their testimony that he has produced a volume of rare interest, covering most phases of the Revolution up to the close of 1796. Naturally many familiar names appear—Arthur Young, Edward Rigby, Dr. John Moore, the two British ambassadors, Dorset and Gower, with their chargés or agents, Hailes, Fitzgerald, Lindsay, and Monro—but also many others whose testimony is commonly overlooked. One choice is doubtful, J. G. Millingen, several times quoted, for he was an old man when he undertook to recall what he had observed as a boy of eight or ten. On the whole the testimony of these Englishmen, and of a few English women, reads like a cool breeze blowing through the heated atmosphere of contemporary French revolutionary writing. It is interesting to find among the witnesses George Hammond, first British minister to the new American Republic, though not "at Washington", as the editor says. Possibly to avoid the appearance of pedantry, the editor's introductory notes are sometimes too scanty, in a few cases not giving even the title of the work from which the selection is made and never adding page references. The index leaves much to be desired.

H. E. BOURNE.

Robespierre vu par ses contemporains. By LOUIS JACOB. [Les classiques de la Révolution française.] (Paris, Armand Colin, 1938, pp. 225, 32 fr.) Among the studies

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which the late Albert Mathiez lived only long enough to project was a garner of the testimony of Robespierre's contemporaries. It was his passionate desire to use that material as a preface and basis for a biography of the Incorruptible and by means of it "to sit in judgment on the [Thermidorian] legend and destroy it by confronting it with the truth". M. Jacob has executed this project in a small but exceedingly valuable source book of testimonials. The treatment is chronological, and within each unit the material is further subdivided into two sections—the contemporaneous judgments about the period or events concerned and those which were made after Thermidor. M. Jacob does not attempt to conceal his endorsement of M. Mathiez's conclusion concerning Robespierre's personality and public career, but his approach as editor is impartial enough to satisfy the stanchest opponent of his and Mathiez's revaluation. Intent where at all possible upon culling the most interesting opinions, especially from unpublished sources, he leaves the final verdict to his readers, confident that the collected judgments, critically appraised, will speak for themselves in corroboration of his own views. This they presumably will do so far as the conscious reasoning of the reader is concerned; that they will substantially affect or alter his unconscious preconceptions is a hope which the reviewer is unable to share.

LEO GERSHOY.

Napoleon in der englischen Geschichtsschreibung von den Zeitgenossen bis zur Gegenwart. By WOLFGANG MAILAHN. (Berlin, Junker und Dünnhaupt, 1937, pp. 156, 7 M.) It has long been recognized that the main currents in the history of France during the past century and a quarter can be traced in the works produced in that country upon the career of Napoleon. There has been less appreciation of the fact that the same can be asserted with practically equal validity of other lands. Almost everywhere the production of Napoleonic literature has been on so stupendous a scale that no major trend, of political thought at least, has failed to receive reflection in it. Of this the little book of Dr. Mailahn is a useful reminder. The treatment is necessarily chronological. No attempt is made to present a complete survey of the available literature, yet the author is not content with a consideration of the better-known works, as he is ever anxious to bring out each tendency and point of view. Though even the most recent publications give evidence of political and national bias, Dr. Mailahn traces a steady advance in the quality of historical criticism. Napoleon's English contemporaries usually permitted their prejudices to dominate their views, even going the length of refusing to credit him with military genius. In contrast to this the least friendly of his twentieth century critics are prepared to recognize his extraordinary talents. At times one could wish that the treatment had been related even more closely to English political currents. HAROLD C. DEUTSCH.

Journal de Marie-Amélie de Bourbon des Deux-Siciles, Duchesse d'Orléans. Volume II, *1814-1822.* Publié par S. A. R. la Duchesse de Vendôme, Princesse HENRIETTE DE BELGIQUE. Préface de Georges Goyau. (Paris, Plon, 1938, pp. x, 348, 20 fr.) The present volume of the diary of the consort of Louis-Philippe carries us from Palermo to Paris in 1814, tells us much of the *beau monde* of the French capital in the early years of the reign of the restored Bourbons, shares with us the pains and joys of the birth of several of the future queen's children, and provides a veritable Baedeker of much of Paris and provincial France, minutely observed by the already patriotic princess. Her great-granddaughter, the Duchess of Vendôme, continues the pious—and courageous—task of mining in the massive twenty-four volume Italian diary of her ancestress and intersperses her findings with comments of her own and with copious excerpts from

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the well-known writings of La Gorce, Trognon, Recouly, and others. The impression is one of a lady who led the life of a pious Catholic and devoted wife. The story is told with grace and charm, but those who are interested in the serious history of the period—and notably in the political activities of Louis-Philippe—will be disappointed: the diary adds very little indeed to our knowledge of the Restoration. DONALD C. MCKAY.

Achille Murat en Belgique: Un citoyen américain au service de notre Révolution, 1831-1832. By MAURICE-A. ARNOULD. (Brussels, "L'Avenir", 1938, pp. 86.) Basing his account primarily upon Murat's letter book in the Bibliothèque nationale, Arnould recounts in detail an episode in the life of a man distinguished by little save a great name. This son of the Napoleonic king of Naples left his Florida home for England when he learned of the revolution of 1830 in France. Involved at first in a complicated Bonapartist intrigue, he quickly abandoned his schemes for operations in France, went to Belgium, and there became colonel of a foreign legion which never materialized. Due to French opposition he soon lost even this post and had to return in penury to America without having struck a blow in the cause nearest his heart, that of Italian independence.

PAUL D. EVANS.

Mon temps. By GABRIEL HANOTAUX. Volume II, *La Troisième République: Gambetta et Jules Ferry.* (Paris, Société de l'Histoire nationale, 1938, pp. 531, 40 fr.) After an interval of five years the second volume of these memoirs carries the recollections of the eminent French statesman and scholar as far as the overthrow of Jules Ferry. It has not quite the charm of the earlier volume, which dealt with a youth spent in Picardy during the last years of the Second Empire, but it records intimate impressions of Gambetta and Ferry. Hanotaux was assistant "chef de cabinet" during the ministry of each. He attempts no history of the period, limiting himself to personal reactions. He gives an account of the share he had, with Albert Sorel and others, in making the archives of the ministry of foreign affairs accessible to scholars. The last section, entitled "L'incrédulité et la religion", presents a curious sketch of the age-long conflict between Christianity and unbelief, reaching back to the epoch when Constantine "décida de l'ordre du monde en se prononçant pour Jésus-Crucifié". In the vicissitudes of this conflict the Masons are given an important role. H. E. BOURNE.

Morocco as a French Economic Venture: A Study of Open Door Imperialism. By MELVIN M. KNIGHT. With a Preface by Charles A. Beard. (New York, Appleton-Century, 1937, pp. x, 244, $2.25.) The national economic venture of the French in Morocco provides an excellent case study of imperialism in the age of boom and depression. In the period of the war and the postwar boom Morocco experienced an unplanned expansion which in time competed with French national enterprise. When this competition was felt, the government regulated Moroccan economy to make it "complementary" rather than competitive. To do this it was necessary to abrogate the open door and move from the associationist policy of Lyautey to the "old colonial system" of centralized empire. The advisory administration has extended state aid and regulation to such an extent that Professor Knight considers the Permanent Economic Defense Committee a prototype of fascist structure. He thinks the current opinion that "imperialism does not pay" cannot be established. No balance sheet, in strict definition, can be made of colonial profits and losses in view of the statistics, concepts, and prejudices involved. This experience of French imperialism in the postwar age and its analysis by Professor Knight point to the need for similar case studies of other

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regions. Only then can concepts of modern imperialism be brought into line with the economic realities of the postwar world, and until then judgments of imperialism will be based on facts made obsolete by the depression.

FRANCIS WILLIAMSON.

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GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, AND HUNGARY

E. N. Anderson

Das Hochstift Basel im ausgehenden Mittelalter: Quellen und Forschungen. Edited by KONRAD W. HIERONIMUS. [Historische und Antiquarische Gesellschaft.] (Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, 1938, pp. 624, 25 Swiss fr.) This volume constitutes an invaluable prelude to the set described below in that it publishes in a critical edition the text in Latin and German of the *Ceremoniale Basiliensis Episcopatus,* a liturgical book of the Basel Cathedral composed by Hieronymus Brilinger in 1517, only a dozen years before the cessation of Catholic services through the introduction of the Reformation. The *Ceremoniale* is of interest not only for liturgy but also for pageantry in that the forms are given not merely for the Christian year but likewise for the proclamation of papal indulgences and for the reception of papal legates, kings, emperors, and empresses. The lengthy introduction gives much valuable information with regard to the aristocracy of Basel, which in the late Middle Ages made increasing use of the cathedral appointments as a device for providing younger sons with berths and all too frequently sinecures. There are rumblings of the usual quarrels between the bishop and the chapter as well as of the financial difficulties of the foundation, which was thoroughly impoverished by the time of the Reformation.

ROLAND H. BAINTON.

Aktensammlung zur Geschichte der Basler Reformation in den Jahren 1519 bis Anfang 1534. Edited by PAUL ROTH. Band III, *1528 bis Juni, 1529.* [Historische und Antiquarische Gesellschaft.] (Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, 1937, pp. 680, 23 Swiss fr.) This magnificent collection of materials on the Reformation in Basel is at last complete. Volume I was brought out in 1921 by the late Emil Dürr, whose kindness to foreign students the reviewer gratefully remembers. Volume II appeared in 1933 (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XL, 115-16) in collaboration with Paul Roth, who alone has completed the third volume. The materials here assembled do not alter the essential picture of the Reformation in Basel because the crucial documents were already available in print, and some of them had been utilized in manuscript by such historians as Ochs and Wackernagel. The present publication offers us a critical text, a collection of materials widely scattered, and a rich context for the major documents. For example, we have known hitherto the important edicts against the Anabaptists. Now we see how frequently particular Anabaptists were hailed before the authorities, and how liberal was the government in the light of its premises. The great interest in this volume lies in the tumultuous introduction of the Reform in 1529. Social and religious unrest coalesced. The town council temporized. The mob took things into its own hands and indulged in a riot of image breaking. Thereupon the council gave legal sanction to a *fait accompli.* The story is told here from many angles. An index of names and places is appended, but unfortunately it does

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not include subjects. There is no easy way, in consequence, of tracing the Anabaptists straight through. The material is not hard to find, however, because the heading *Urfehde* gives a clue to all the criminal cases. ROLAND H. BAINTON.

Ulrich von Hutten and the German Reformation. By HAJO HOLBORN. Translated by Roland H. Bainton. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1937, pp. viii, 214, $3.00.) A prominent character in the history of the German Reformation emerges from the relative obscurity of undeserved neglect in this portrait of Hutten. To be sure, much remains obscure. But all the light which can legitimately be drawn from extant sources and recent critical studies has been utilized by the author with painstaking care. He has done more than that, however, for he has placed Hutten skillfully in the setting of the early Reformation years without distorting or oversimplifying his relations with conflicting parties. Hutten appears as a knight who did not entirely submerge himself in his class, as a humanist who went his own way despite his admiration for Erasmus, as a "Lutheran" who never completely identified himself with Luther, and as a religious traditionalist who broke sharply with Rome. Professor Holborn avoids the mistakes of earlier biographers, who have either magnified or slighted Hutten's role in the dawning Reformation movement. The result is a discriminating and balanced, if not always living, portrait of the knight "who could turn the molehills of his life into mountains and charge up and down them with foaming steed". The present work is more than a translation of the author's biography, which was published in German eight years earlier. It represents a fresh revision and an expansion. Some of the changes were introduced to answer the needs of English readers, and additional relevant works of American and English scholars are cited. A useful bibliographical note is appended.
THEODORE G. TAPPERT.

Wallenstein, Soldier under Saturn: A Biography. By FRANCIS WATSON. (New York, Appleton-Century, 1938, pp. xii, 439, $4.00.) This is easily the most competent study on Wallenstein that has yet been published in the English language. Far from being an imaginative character study such as that of Ricarda Huch, it is a critical biography that must be taken seriously, though it may have been written for a nonprofessional public. The historical specialist will criticize the excessive inflation of unassimilated detail in the earlier chapters and the unaccountable contraction of the narrative in the last years, culminating in Wallenstein's assassination, where full detail is indispensable to intelligibility; he will balk at the overdramatization of the undramatic and the lack of precision and clarity in sketching the larger historical environment in which the enigmatic career of Wallenstein unfolded itself. Once allowances for these obvious deficiencies have been made, however, the reader may entrust himself to Mr. Watson with confident assurance. The book is well written and makes fascinating reading. It is based on astonishingly wide study of the sources, displays complete familiarity with the older work of Hallwich and the more recent studies of Ernstberger, Srbik, and Pekar, and is grounded—so he assures us—on independent investigation in the Prague and Viennese archives. That Mr. Watson's reading of the career of Wallenstein should have resulted in a rehabilitation of the statesman and soldier is only in keeping with the trend of recent scholarship. The reader will be grateful for the excellent chapter, based on Ernstberger's work, on Wallenstein the economist and businessman and for the critical acumen, restraint, and sanity of judgment that pervade the discussion of the numerous controversial issues of Wallenstein's second commission as generalissimo of the imperial forces. With a deft hand the author gathers all the strains that lead to

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the assassination, although in his haste to conclude he has oversimplified this final phase of Wallenstein's career. WALTER L. DORN.

Aristocracy and the Middle-Classes in Germany: Social Types in German Literature, 1830-1900. By ERNST KOHN-BRAMSTEDT. With a Foreword by G. P. Gooch. (London, P. S. King, 1937, pp. xii, 362, 15*s*.) In this book the author endeavors, with the aid of the novel, family journal, and similar literary sources, to describe and analyze relations between the aristocracy and the middle classes of northern Germany during the period from 1830 to 1900. His second aim is to clarify the social position and function of individual authors and of whole groups of individual writers who were engaged as sympathizing spectators rather than as active participants in the struggle between the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie for prestige and power. Accordingly, throughout the book emphasis is put not on the intrinsic merits of the literary works under discussion but on their timely political and social content. It is a provocative study in the relatively new field of social literary history, which is concerned with the mutual illustration of the history of literature by social history and of social history by the history of literature. Dr. Kohn-Bramstedt realizes the advisability of employing as documentation only literary material which can be substantiated in nonfictional sources. Apart from its original approach and methodological significance the book proves to be a valuable contribution to our knowledge of nineteenth century German society and German literature. HANS ROSENBERG.

Bevölkerungsgeschichte Deutschlands. By ERICH KEYSER. (Leipzig, S. Hirzel, 1938, pp. xi, 360, 10 M.) The author of this book attempts to open up and set the limits to "the most important subject of historical study for the near future", namely, "the history of the structure, number, nature and territorial expanse" of population groups. Choosing Germany as the geographic area of research, he investigates each national or racial group within the population. Cultural values and the influence of political events stand outside the range of his interest, as does the history of families and clans. The author, who has published many studies in this field, sums up adequately the known data on the subject and, deploring the absence of monographic literature, calls for further scientific research. He might have applied advantageously a little scientific method to his own National Socialistic postulates.

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NORTHERN EUROPE

O. J. Falnes

Svensk Handelsstatistik, 1637-1737: Samtida Bearbetningar [Swedish Statistics of Foreign Trade, 1637-1737: Contemporary Accounts]. With an Introductory Chapter in English by BERTIL BOËTHIUS and ELI F. HECKSCHER. (Stockholm, Aktiebolaget Thule, 1938, pp. xlviii, 803.) This volume makes available for scholars a valuable collection of statistical tables for Sweden, Finland, and the leading commercial ports and presents it in its original form. This material has been accessible hitherto only in the manuscript volumes preserved in the Swedish *Riksarkiv.* The only statistical materials of importance for the economic history of Scandinavia in early modern times that have been published before this are: Nina Ellinger Bang and Knud Horst, *Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport gennem Öresund, 1497-1660; 1661-1783* (4 vols., 1906-33); tables of Swedish imports and exports, 1637-1640 and 1645, in *Rikskansleren Axel Oxenstiernas skrifter och brefvexling,* 2d ser., XI (1905), 687-836; materials for the period before 1571, digested by the founder of Swedish economic history, Hans Forssell, in his *Sveriges Inre Historia från Gustav I* (Stockholm, 1875); and those specifically relating to Finland, in two competent monographs by T. S. Dillner

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(1894 and 1897). The present volume not only provides important clues to the economic history of cities like Stockholm and Gothenburg but, through occasional *sammandrag* or summaries, gives a statistical picture for particular years of Sweden's and Finland's trade balances. The statistics are not complete. The missing volumes of manuscript were probably used for gun wadding by Swedish soldiers. The scholar may lament the gaps in the record, but he must be grateful to the editors for publishing the significant fragments that have survived.

WALDEMAR WESTERGAARD.

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ITALY

Gaudens Megaro

La soluzione unitaria del risorgimento, 1849-1871. By ALDO FERRARI. [Biblioteca Storica del Risorgimento Italiano.] (Milan, Albrighi, Segati, 1938, pp. viii, 235, 10 l.) This little volume is the fourth of a series in which the author has pre-

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sented a survey of the Italian national revolution from 1748 to 1871. It is a political history, clear, vigorous, concise, which follows continuously only the main line of political evolution, that traced by the action of Piedmont. But it is not merely a political narrative. Nonpolitical elements are introduced as crystallized in principles. The principles are liberty, equality, and nationality, whose evolution in Italian thought and politics the author has followed throughout his work. The result is a synthesis, rather than a summary of factual data, in terms of these ideals. In this volume the Risorgimento culminates as the victory of the legitimate interests of Italy "in a true and intrinsic victory of right". Italian historiography has not yet prepared the ground for a synthesis of the Risorgimento in any but political and intellectual terms, and it may be doubted if Professor Ferrari would wish to achieve one in any other terms. He brings to history the mind of a thinker with idealistic tendencies. His work makes a strong appeal to the reflective reader. The principles which sum up for him the tendencies of Italian life become neither mere abstractions nor autonomous forces. They operate through a play of circumstances on which he has a firm grasp and through the thought and action of leaders whom he has brought to life in sketches which are thumbnail masterpieces. Unfortunately the final chapter, "The Intellectual Movement", is not successfully integrated with the others.

KENT ROBERTS GREENFIELD.

Lettere dall'Esilio, 1853-1860. By FRANCESCO DE SANCTIS. Collected and edited by BENEDETTO CROCE. [Biblioteca di Cultura Moderna.] (Bari, Laterza, 1938, pp. 370, 25 l.) This volume contains a considerable number of letters written by Francesco De Sanctis, a distinguished liberal of the Risorgimento, author of a famous history of Italian literature and precursor of Benedetto Croce. They deal with a variety of subjects, personal, literary, intellectual, and political. Most of them were written from Zurich, where De Sanctis had found a post teaching Italian literature after his expulsion from Naples in 1853. It is always interesting, and at times moving, to follow the vicissitudes of his career from the beginning of his exile to the achievement of Italian unity. The letters in this volume will be integrated in a complete edition of De Sanctis's correspondence which is now being prepared. It may be noted here that we owe to Croce's indefatigable researches over a long period of years the abundant material now available on De Sanctis.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND YUGOSLAVIA

Hans Kohn

V branách nového věku, 1450-1650. Edited by JOSEF ŠUSTA. (Prague, Melantrich, 1938, pp. xxxii, 731, Kc. 150.) This is a fifth volume of a new world history by leading Czech historians. It covers the period from the capture of Constantinople

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to the Peace of Westphalia. The Slavonic peoples and the Near East receive more detailed treatment than is usually the case in similar works. Bohemia and Hungary are reviewed by O. Odložilík, Poland and Russia by J. Bidlo, and the Near East by J. Rypka. The volume contains many illustrations in the text and eighteen separate plates, and it maintains very high typographical standards.

Państwa Bałkańskie 1800-1923: Zarys historii dyplomatycznej i rozwoju terytorialnego. By HENRYK BATOWSKI. (Cracow, Prace Polskiego Towarzystwa dla badań Europy Wschodniej i Bliskiego Wschodu, No. XV, 1938, pp. 337.) Batowski offers a detailed and excellently documented political history of the Balkan countries, with special emphasis upon territorial changes and developments. He includes in his discussion the Bukovina, the Banat, and the Dalmatian islands, which, though not part of the Balkan peninsula, have played a role in the development of recent Balkan political geography.

Slovanská vzájemnost 1836-1936. Edited by JIŘÍ HORÁK. (Prague, Orbis, 1938, pp. 428, Kc. 60.) This book is a symposium in commemoration of the hundredth anniversary of the famous writing of Jan Kollár, *Über die literarische Wechselseitigkeit zwischen den verschiedenen Stämmen und Mundarten der slavischen Nation,* the first great document of early Panslavism. Fr. Wollman discusses Kollár as the representative of Slavonic messianism, A. Štefánek analyzes Kollár's nationalism, and other authors show the echo which Kollár's program evoked among the Southern Slavs, the Russians, the Ukrainians, the Poles, and the Slovaks. There is a résumé of the articles in French.

Přemyslovci a Lucemburkové. Ikonografická řada českých králů středověkých. By ANTONÍN FRIEDL. (Prague, Melantrich, 1938, pp. 61, 40 tables, Kc. 150.) This volume presents for the first time an iconographic study of the medieval Czech kings of the Přemysl and Luxemburg dynasties. The author used two manuscripts preserved in the archives of the city of Iglau which offer the only authentic pictures of the Czech kings dating from the Middle Ages. All the pictures are stylized and probably bear no portrait-like resemblance. The text contains a résumé in French.

Středověká kolonisace v zemích českých. By Y. V. ŠIMÁK. (Prague, Jan Laichter, 1938, pp. vii, 810, Kc. 115.) This forms the fifth part of the first section of the *České Dějiny* (Czech History) started by Václav Novotný. It contains a detailed history of colonization in Bohemia and to a lesser extent in Moravia during the later Middle Ages.

Briefe Johanns von Neumarkt vom Mittelalter zur Reformation. Edited by PAUL PIUR. (Berlin, Weidmann, 1938, pp. xlix, 554, 39 M.) This edition of the letters of the chancellor of Emperor Charles IV contains 360 letters, of which 140 were previously unpublished. All except five were originally written in Latin. In recent years the personality and the work of Johann von Neumarkt have attracted the attention of several scholars, among whom Conrad Burdach used the chancellor's letters to Petrarch, and Josef Klapper published the German writings in three volumes. The present publication is the first modern scholarly edition of the Latin letters.

Regesta fondu militare archivu ministerstva vnitra R Č S v Praze. Volume II, *1590-1617.* Edited by VÁCLAV LÍVA. (Prague, Circle for the Study of Military History at the Military Institute, 1938, pp. xiii, 546.) This military material is published for the first time. The Turkish wars during the period of Rudolph II employed a large number of Bohemian forces.

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. *Národnostný problém Trnavskej univerzity.* By BRANISLAV VARSIK. (Bratislava, Safarik Academy of Science, 1938, pp. vii, 259, Kc. 54.) The University of Trnava was founded about three hundred years ago by the Jesuits and was attended by Hungarian, Slovak, and other students. The author analyzes the national composition of the student body and emphasizes the part played in its history by Slovak students.

Počátky České společnosti nauk do konce XVIII. stol. Volume I, *1774-1789.* By JAROSLAV PROKEŠ. (Prague, Royal Czech Society of Sciences, 1938, pp. x, 362, Kc. 80.) This study deals with the history of the first fifteen years of the Royal Czech Society of Sciences, which was founded in 1774, played a leading role in the awakening of Czech national consciousness under the influence of the Enlightenment, and still exists under its ancient name. It is based upon original research and presents an important contribution to a better understanding of late eighteenth century Bohemia, when the foundations of modern Bohemian life were laid by a small group of scholarly and patriotic aristocrats.

T. G. Masaryk: Soupis Tisků. By JAROMIR DOLEŽAL. (Prague, Orbis, 1938, pp. 296, Kc. 30.) This is a most complete bibliography of Masaryk's writings and of the writings about him, containing more than one thousand titles. All languages are included, translations are always noted, and of the writings about Masaryk not only all books but also all articles in periodicals, with the exception of daily newspapers, are listed. The work gives the impression of great completeness and of bibliographical exactitude.

Milan Srškić, 1880-1937. Edited by MILUTIN POPOVIĆ. (Sarajevo, Izdanje Odbora za izdavanje Spomenice M.S., 1938, pp. 255, Din. 100.) This book was published in memory of the Bosnian statesman who was a member of the Bosnian diet before the World War, deserted from the Austrian army during the war, became later one of the protagonists of the policy of Serbian predominance in Yugoslavia, was repeatedly a member of the cabinet, and was finally prime minister from 1932 to 1934. It contains much interesting material, both for the prewar history of Bosnia and for the recent history of Yugoslavia, where Srškić enjoyed the confidence of King Alexander I.

Kroz Istoriju Srba: Kralj Milan u Njegovo Doba. By SVETOLIK M. GRENENAĆ. (Belgrade, S. B. Cvijanović, 1938, pp. xvi, 158, Din. 25.) This book represents a point of view which is now rarely held by Serb historians. It shares the viewpoint of the former nationalist Serbian party, the Naprednjaci, and defends the Austrophil policy of King Milan. It is hostile to Russia and to Russian influence in the Balkans.

Pachitch et l'union des Yougoslaves. By COMTE SFORZA. (Paris, Gallimard, 1938, pp. 253, 20 fr.) In this book Count Sforza erects a monument of warm tribute to the memory of the Serbian statesman. The first part deals with the history of Serbia prior to the World War and with the role which Pašić played as the leader of the radical party and as prime minister. The second and more important part deals with the years of the World War and those immediately following, in which Sforza himself played a great role through his negotiations with Pašić. The book does not profess to be an objective and fully rounded picture of the epoch and the man, but it reflects the intentions of the author as the man responsible for Italian foreign policy with respect to the settlement of the Italo-Yugoslav questions.

Biografija Jaše Tomića u razvoju lične ideologije. By VLASTOJE D. ALEKSIJEVIĆ. (Belgrade, Globus Press, 1938, pp. 127, Din. 25.) This book contains a biography

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and an analysis of the development of the personal ideology of Tomić, who had been a socialist in his youth and later became a leading Serb nationalist in the then Hungarian Vojvodina. By his connections with the radical party in Serbia Tomić gave to the Serbs in Hungary a Serbian democratic program, into which he wove many economic and social reforms. He also wrote many poems and novels, without artistic value but full of vigorous propaganda for Serbian nationalism.

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RUSSIA AND POLAND

Avrahm Yarmolinsky

Lektzii po russkoĭ istorii. Volume I, *Kiyevskya Rus'* [lectures in Russian history: Kievan Russia]. By A. E. PRESNYAKOV. (Moscow, Gos. sotz.-ekon. izdat., 1938, pp. 279, 5.45 r.) These lectures were delivered annually at the University of St. Petersburg for many years prior to the brilliant historian's death in 1929. They were not designed for publication. The text was rewritten in 1915-16, but part of it has unfortunately been lost, and as a result the last seven chapters of the sixteen which make up the book follow an earlier version, composed in 1907-1908. This last section is of small value, since its substance is embodied in Presnyakov's dissertation, *Knyazhoye pravo v drevneĭ Rusi* [princely law in ancient Russia], published as far back as 1909. The first section, on the other hand, is of great interest. The author's approach here to the fundamental problems of early Russian history is both authoritative and original. His views underwent considerable change: while at first he attributed the leading role in the development of early Russian civilization to the alien, Varangian factor, he ended by emphasizing the part played by native Slav elements. The supplements to the volume include a paper dealing with the problems of the protohistory of Eastern Europe and an essay on Vilhelm Thomsen's views of early Russian history, written in 1927 on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of Thomsen's remarkable Oxford lectures entitled *The Relation between Ancient Russia and Scandinavia and the Origin of the Russian State.*

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Alexandre Ier: Un tsar énigmatique. By MAURICE PALÉOLOGUE. (Paris, Plon, 1937, pp. 315.)

The Enigmatic Czar: The Life of Alexander I of Russia. By MAURICE PALÉOLOGUE. Translated from the French by Edwin and Willa Muir. (New York, Harper, 1938, pp. 325, $3.50.) This biographical study presents Alexander I as the tender-hearted, neurotic emperor, a hereditary victim of a "suspicious degenerate . . . that monster, that 'deaths-head' who was known as Paul I". The tragedy deepened further to truly Macbethian dimensions when the psychological guilt of parricide entered into the already melancholy soul of Alexander. But Alexander was by no means so tender and easily swayed, not even by characters like Metternich. Joseph de Maistre records an interesting utterance made to him by Alexander and cited by Paléologue: "I recall a remark that Napoleon made to me during our talks in Erfurt: 'In war it is obstinacy that counts; that is what has won me my battles.' Very well, I shall show him that I have not forgotten his lesson." The events of 1813-1814 proved that Alexander did learn something from his Erfurt meeting. Paléologue describes this meeting with much skill. "Never perhaps had a conference between two rulers been packed with so many subterfuges and mystifications, so many lies and impostures." As a veteran diplomat he knows what he is talking about, and the statement can be taken on good faith. As the turbulent events continued to engulf Europe, Alexander became a continental figure. And from a national background Paléologue masterfully carries the characterization of the "enigmatic czar" to the international stage. Altogether, the study is a valuable contribution presented in a delightful style. The translation is exquisite. It is all the more welcome since, except for the brilliant short essay by the late A. A. Kiesewetter, there is scarcely an up-to-date monograph on the czar who at one time held the stage of Europe.

ANATOLE G. MAZOUR.

Au service de la Russie: Alexandre Iswolsky, correspondance diplomatique, 1906-1911. Compiled by HÉLÈNE ISWOLSKI. Introduction and Notes by GEORGES CHKLAVER. Volume I. (Paris, Éditions Internationales, 1937, pp. 438, 30 fr.) This is an exasperating book to read, and to review. It contains nearly two hundred private letters, a few written by Isvolski, the rest sent to him by the Russian ambassadors at Berlin, Vienna, Paris, Rome, and London. Most of them are of slight importance, and a large number have no importance whatsoever. Even the title is deceptive. There are letters for every year from 1906 to 1910, but the great majority, including all those worth reading, were written in 1906. On that year the volume throws a few fitful rays of light, though Isvolski's letters merely add confirmatory details to what has long been known from other sources. On the basis of this and similar volumes it seems possible to state with some confidence and much relief that the law of diminishing returns is beginning to operate in the field of diplomatic history.

R. J. SONTAG.

Vospominaniya [reminiscences]. By S. E. KRYZHANOVSKI. (Berlin, Petropolis, 1938, pp. 221.) Sergei Yefimovich Kryzhanovski was minister of the interior under Stolypin. After the latter's death he was appointed secretary of state, a post which he held until the end of the empire. The memoirs of this loyal servant of the czar are confined to the author's official career. They throw much revealing light on the political history of the last years of the old regime.

Vchera: Vospominaniya [yesterday: reminiscences]. By O. O. GRUZENBERG. (Paris, Dom Knigi, 1938, pp. 242.) These memoirs of the veteran Russian-Jewish jurist of prerevolutionary days should be of some interest to the historian of the last decades of the imperial regime.

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V bor'be za rodinu, 1918-22 [fighting for our country]. By A. V. Zuyev. (Harbin, Izdat. V. G. Zuyevoy, 1937, pp. 132.) These sketches by a participant in the Russian civil war relate to the part played in the conflict by the Orenburg Cossacks. The account is in the nature of personal reminiscences unsupported by any documentation. The author's purpose was to spur the youth who had grown up in the Dispersion to fight for the liberation of Russia from Bolshevik domination.

Na Kaspiiskom more: God beloi bor'by [on the Caspian Sea: a year of white struggle]. By N. N. Lishin. (Prague, Izdanie Morskovo zhurnala, 1938, pp. 182.) The author of this book, a Russian naval officer, was a participant in the civil war on the anti-Bolshevik side. In 1918 and the first half of 1919 he chanced to be in the thick of the military and political events which were taking place in the Caspian region. The work deals with the British intervention in the Caucasus and Transcaspia, with the early history of the Azerbaijan Republic, and with events at Baku down to June, 1919. Some official documents and newspaper articles are cited, and a typewritten proclamation composed by a sailor is reproduced in facsimile. The book is a contribution to the knowledge of a relatively obscure phase of Russia's civil conflict.

Moi vospominaniya. Volume I, *V revolyutzii, 1917-1919* [my reminiscences: the revolution, 1917-1919]. By I. I. Serebrennikov. (Tientsin, Star Press, 1937, pp. 289.) This volume is an addition to the sizeable memoir literature produced by the notables, now exiled, who were active in the last years of the empire and during the civil war. The author, a geographer of moderately liberal views, lived at Irkutsk when the March revolution broke out, and he remained in eastern Siberia until January, 1920, when he voluntarily expatriated himself. After the Kerensky regime was overthrown, he took part in the anti-Bolshevik movement, serving as chairman of the administrative council of the so-called Siberian government, which was set up early in July, 1918. Subsequently he held the post of minister of supplies in Admiral Kolchak's cabinet. His story deals almost exclusively with public affairs.

Articles

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G. Utkin. Pervyye shagi rabochevo dvizheniya v Rossii, 70-80 gg. [beginnings of the labor movement in Russia: 70's-80's]. *Istoricheski zhurnal,* 1938, no. 12.

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G. Gasanov and N. Sarkisov. Sovetskaya vlast' v Baku v 1918 g., Bakinskaya kommuna [Soviet power at Baku in 1918, the Baku commune]. *Istorik-marksist,* 1938, no. 5.

Tony Charmadel. La valeur intellectuelle et morale de l'armée soviétique. *Frontières,* 1938.

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DOMINIQUE KOSÁRY. Étienne Bathory, roi de Pologne, prince de Transylvanie, à propos d'un livre récent. *Rev. Hist.*, July.

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M. STEPANOV. Joseph de Maistre v Rossii [Joseph de Maistre in Russia]. *Ibid.*

M. KRUTIKOV. K istorii razvitiya parokhodstva na Volge [a contribution to the history of the development of steam navigation on the Volga]. *Krasnyi arkhiv,* 1938, nos. 4-5.

P. SOFINOV. Krest'yanskoye dvizheniye v kontze XIX v. [peasant movement at the end of the 19th c.]. *Ibid.*

FAR EASTERN HISTORY

C. H. Peake

Correspondance de Ferdinand Verbiest de la Compagnie de Jésus, 1623-1688, directeur de l'Observatoire de Pékin. By H. JOSSON, S.I., and L. WILLAERT, S.I. [Commission royale d'histoire.] (Brussels, Palais des Académies, 1938, pp. xxiv, 591, 65 fr.) Ferdinand Verbiest was of that notable succession of Jesuits who in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries succeeded in planting Christianity so firmly in China that it survived a series of disasters in the eighteenth century and, largely because of the foundations thus laid, experienced a remarkable growth in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The device by which the door into closed China was pushed slightly ajar and a partial toleration of Christianity obtained was the establishment at Peking of a group of scholars who by their attainments in mathematics, astronomy, and mechanics won the respect of some of the *literati* and made themselves useful to the imperial court. For several generations, with occasional interruptions, the imperial bureau of astronomy was under their direction. Of this Peking mission Verbiest was an outstanding leader. The volume before us is the most complete collection of his correspondence which has yet appeared. It is made up of letters from him and to him, most of them assembled by the late P. Henri Bosmans, S.J. Some of the documents have previously been published, but to them have been added a large number which have never before appeared in print. A few are from the period before Verbiest went to China (1657), but the majority cover his China experience and come down to the year of his death. Because of Verbiest's prominence in the China mission, the volume provides a valuable collection of source material for the history of Roman Catholic activity in China during the second half of the seventeenth century. Nothing in the volume alters the main outlines of what is already known, but details are amplified, and our knowledge of events is made fuller. K. S. LATOURETTE.

More Letters from Basil Hall Chamberlain to Lafcadio Hearn and Letters from M. Toyama, Y. Tsubouchi, and Others. Compiled by KAZUO KOIZUMI. (Tokyo, Hokuseido Press; New York, Stechert, 1937, pp. viii, 208, $3.50.) Among the Occidental scholars who took part in the reconstruction of Japan after the Restoration of 1868 it would be very difficult to find two who left a more lasting impression on Japanese culture than did B. H. Chamberlain and Lafcadio Hearn. Chamberlain studied the Japanese language in a modern, scientific way and published the first systematized Japanese grammar. He also made accessible to Western students for the first time the oldest annals of Japan, *Kojiki,* through his excellent English translation. But it was Hearn who revealed, through his inimitable exquisite word-painting, the heart and soul of Japanese culture, not

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only to the Western people but even to the Japanese themselves. No two Western writers could be more different than were these two men in scholarly temperament and aesthetic preferences, as well as in social attitude, but the difference proved no hindrance to their close and abiding friendship. The letters here published stand as a testimony to the warm relationship that existed between them. Letters from Dr. M. Toyama, at that time dean of the Department of Art and Literature of Tokyo Imperial University, and from Dr. Y. Tsubouchi, head of the Department of Literature at Waseda University, which are included in this volume, give an interesting picture of institutions of higher learning in Japan. RYUSAKU TSUNODA.

Japan in China. By T. A. BISSON. (New York, Macmillan, 1938, pp. 417, $3.00.) Among the books on contemporary developments in the Far East that have appeared since Japan began its latest period of continental aggression in 1931 none is more readable in style, penetrating in analysis, and balanced in treatment than this volume by Mr. Bisson. As a member of the research staff of the Foreign Policy Association, he has closely followed events in the Far East for the past ten years, and much of the material relating to recent developments was gathered during a year of travel and investigation in Japan and China in 1937. The period covered in the book extends from the Tangku truce of 1933 to the first part of 1938. Mr. Bisson's strong sympathy for China's cause has led him at times to go beyond the evidence which he adduces in order to discredit Japanese policy, and a number of his conclusions will probably be subject to change in the light of additional evidence which the future will disclose. His book, however, will probably stand up exceptionally well under the test of time largely because of the author's mature grasp of the historical background of the period with which he deals.

The Real Conflict between China and Japan: An Analysis of Opposing Ideologies. By HARLEY FARNSWORTH MACNAIR. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1938, pp. xvi, 215, $2.00.) That ideological and psychological factors which exacerbate relations between peoples cannot be slighted in favor of economic and political factors by those who seek to understand such relationships, recent events in Europe have amply testified. In writings on Sino-Japanese relations these factors have been conspicuously minimized or ignored. Professor MacNair's book is therefore an important addition to the literature on contemporary developments in that field. It is devoted entirely to this aspect of events, and the treatment is essentially historical. The author traces from early times in both Japan and China the dominant political philosophies, concepts of the state, and the nature of the relationship between emperor and subject, which stand in such striking contrast. It is an approach which goes far to explain the differing rates of modernization in the two countries. In order to give the reader the flavor of the thought permeating their contrasting ideologies the author has wisely allowed their leaders and philosophers to speak directly through numerous translated quotations in the belief that "five indigenous words are worth a ream of description". The book is carefully and adequately documented, and there is an interesting appendix of observations by a recent resident of Japan on "The Contemporary Conflict in the Japanese Empire between Christian and Shinto Ideology".

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UNITED STATES HISTORY

E. C. Burnett

General

Bibliography on German Settlements in Colonial North America, especially on the Pennsylvania Germans and their Descendants, 1683-1933. Compiled and edited by Emil Meynen. (Leipzig, Otto Harrassowitz, 1937, pp. xxxvi, 636, 18 M.) This is the only comprehensive bibliography yet published of the colonial German-Americans and their descendants. The volume is a by-product of the original project of the compiler, who spent three years in the United States collecting material for a "cultural geographic survey of the Pennsylvania German habitat". His diligence and thoroughness are indicated by the fact that he

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has catalogued more than seventy-eight hundred items, arranged under sixty-five different headings with numerous subdivisions. Almost half of the compilation deals with local history, biography, and genealogy. The book does not attempt to list all publications which might reasonably be expected to shed light on the civilization of the early German-Americans. For instance, no Pennsylvania German almanacs or newspapers or dialect writings are noted, but books and articles discussing these publications are given. It is difficult to judge how nearly complete the bibliography is within the limits set by the compiler. This reviewer has discovered a few serious omissions in the field with which he is especially familiar. No mention is made, for example, of Thomas's *The History of Printing in America* or of McCulloch's *Additional Memoranda for the History of Printing*—both of them outstanding pioneer works containing much information about the early German-American printers. Despite omissions, however, the book is so comprehensive that it is decidedly valuable to all those interested in the field of early German-American civilization. Although the year 1933 is set in the title as the final date of publication of the items listed, a few of a later date have been noted. There are complete author and surname indexes.

JAMES O. KNAUSS.

Makers of Christianity. Volume III, *From John Cotton to Lyman Abbott*. By WILLIAM WARREN SWEET. (New York, Henry Holt, 1937, pp. viii, 351, $2.00.) Professor Sweet has supplied us here with succinct sketches of some two score "makers" of Christianity in America; some of these sketches are informative, and some, despite the handicap of a pedestrian style, are entertaining. No criterion of selection is suggested, but, granted the propriety of excluding all Catholics since the Revolution, the list is conventional and not objectionable. Mr. Sweet has, however, entirely failed to indicate in what way his makers contributed to the making of Christianity in America. He regards religion as an organized activity—particularly interesting when displayed in a frontier society—rather than as an intellectual, emotional, or spiritual experience. It is not so much what preachers preached, as the fact that they preached at all, that interests him; his book is therefore notable for the entire absence of any discussion of ideas. That the American environment affected church organization is indicated; that it in any way affected religious philosophy is scarcely suggested. There is consequently no explanation of the rise of Deism in the eighteenth century, the shift in New England from orthodoxy to heterodoxy and to radicalism, the shift in the South from liberalism to fundamentalism, the impact of the higher criticism, of Darwinism, of modern economic problems, upon Christianity. There is no effort to relate American religious developments to developments elsewhere in the world or to the larger social and intellectual movements in the United States. The book is one-dimensional: it has neither breadth nor depth, and its occasional gestures toward interpretation reveal an absence of critical judgment and a lack of familiarity with the historical background. HENRY STEELE COMMAGER.

The Mentally Ill in America: A History of their Care and Treatment from Colonial Times. By ALBERT DEUTSCH. With an Introduction by William A. White. (Garden City, Doubleday, Doran, 1937, pp. xvii, 530, $3.00.) The title of this work is quite descriptive; it is a history of the treatment of the mentally ill in this country. Only incidentally does it provide an account of psychiatry as such, and it therefore forms a good companion volume to such a book as Bromberg's *Mind of Man*. It provides a readable, detailed, and well-documented social history which throws considerable light upon such related topics as poor relief and welfare programs, as well as upon its immediate theme. The story follows,

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with minor digressions, a chronological sequence from the seventeenth century to the present time, and in topical scope it covers all phases of mental illness or abnormality, except perhaps those pertaining to neurotics and sex variants. (The term "sex" does not appear in the index, which is a bit startling in a work of this sort.) Emphasis is rightly placed upon changing social and scientific attitudes toward the mentally ill and the manner in which these attitudes expressed themselves through various systems of care—or the lack of it. Particularly valuable is the account of institutional history and of the development of such related reform movements as those championed by Dorothea Dix and Clifford Beers. Equally significant is the description of the present situation in terms of (1) the amount of mental illness (480,000 patients were on hospital books in March, 1937, with as many others at large), (2) the types of therapy currently employed, and (3) the results now being achieved (the hospital recovery rate was 16 per cent in 1934, with an additional 25 per cent discharged as improved). The chief criticism to be suggested is that the narrative is not well integrated with the history of medicine. Certain trends are seen only in relation to psychiatry, which as a matter of fact reflected tendencies in medicine as a whole. Little consideration is given to the implications of folk practice, medical sects, and quackery. Homeopathy, hydropathy, and Christian Science, for example, may all have had some cause or effect relationship to the procedures commonly employed. These comments, however, are of an incidental nature. Both as factual narrative and as interpretation, this work is a most valuable study in American social history. RICHARD H. SHRYOCK.

Wholesale Commodity Prices in the United States, 1700-1861. Statistical Supplement, *Actual Wholesale Prices of Various Commodities.* By ARTHUR HARRISON COLE. [The International Scientific Committee on Price History.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1938, pp. xxiii, 187; x, 359, text, $4.00; statistical supplement, $2.50.) Dr. Cole summarizes the findings of six independent studies of wholesale prices in American cities: Boston, 1720-1798; New York, 1720-1861; Philadelphia, 1700-1861; Charleston, 1732-1861; New Orleans, 1800-1861; and Cincinnati, 1816-1860. He explains each of these investigations, describing the sources of the data, the statistical procedures employed, and the results obtained. Also included is a comparison of the course of prices with respect to seasonal variation, geographical variation, and secular trends and cyclical movements. Then follow six appendixes which give the monthly indexes from which have been prepared fifty-two charts that are used by Dr. Cole to illustrate the results of the six investigations. These indexes are of different types. Some are weighted, some unweighted; some are for individual commodities; some are for domestic commodities; and some are for foreign goods imported. Others are of the multiple or all-commodity type. Of primary value to historians are (1) the price-data bibliographies for each of the six cities, (2) the quotations for individual commodities, 1700-1861, that make up the statistical supplement, (3) the multiple commodity indexes for five cities, 1720-1860, which Dr. Cole has plotted on three charts, thus co-ordinating the results of the separate investigations, and (4) the discussion of the geographical variation of prices, of cyclical movements, and of long-term price trends. CURTIS NETTELS.

Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1730. Edited by CECIL HEADLAM. With an Introduction by Arthur Percival Newton. *1731.* Edited by CECIL HEADLAM and ARTHUR PERCIVAL NEWTON. (London, H. M. Stationery Office; New York, British Library of Information, 1937; 1938, pp. li, 500; xlviii, 466, $8.00; $7.75.) The significance of the two years covered by

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these volumes lies chiefly in their indication of important developments soon to come. Internally the increased commercial activity of the northern colonies was producing a conflict of interest with the West Indies which was about to result in the Molasses Act. The petitions and memorials submitted in 1730 and 1731 by both groups of colonies and set forth in these volumes contain all the basic arguments both for and against parliamentary restriction of trade with the foreign West Indies. It is worth observing in these papers how adroitly each side appealed to the mercantilist interests and policies of the mother country for support. Externally the British colonial world was launching into a new era of expansion. Three new settlements were being talked about: David Dunbar's project already begun in the eastern part of Maine, a proposed buffer colony in the West to be peopled by Swiss emigrants, and a "Charitable Colony" to the south of South Carolina. The name "Georgia" was proposed for each of the three; it was finally adopted for the last. Interesting papers on all the schemes show how different was the process of colonial settlement in the fourth decade of the eighteenth century from what it had been a hundred years before. In the West Indies England was not yet ready for further expansion, but her diplomatic contest with France over the "Neutral Islands" produced some valuable reports from the Board of Trade on the early history of the Lesser Antilles. The papers on these and other topics leave the reader with the realization that the British colonial world had now definitely reached that stage of its history in which its lines of future growth as well as of conflict were clearly indicated.

LEONARD W. LABAREE.

Great Indian Chiefs: A Study of Indian Leaders in the Two Hundred Year Struggle to stop the White Advance. By ALBERT BRITT. (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1938, pp. xi, 280, $2.50.) This is a readable and useful book by an author who has sought with noteworthy success to give us objective human pictures of celebrated Indian chiefs. Dr. Britt is quite correct in naming Joseph Brant of the Mohawks as "the nearest thing to a statesman that his race has yet produced" (p. 94). Pontiac's dream of an Indian confederacy, he says (p. 95), "shook the hold of the English on their new Western empire". A recent biographer has sought to rob Pontiac of his dream, but obviously Dr. Britt does not agree with this theory, although he makes no mention of it. Of Tecumseh he says (p. 155): "For at least a generation after his death, his memory was a thing of power and glory among his people." After the surrender of Chief Joseph, of the Nez Percés, General Sherman remarked (quoted, p. 274): "Thus has terminated one of the most extraordinary Indian wars of which there is any record. The Indians throughout displayed a courage and skill that elicited universal praise, they abstained from scalping, let captive women go free, did not commit indiscriminate murder of peaceful families, which is usual, and fought with almost scientific skill, using advance and rear guards, skirmish lines, and field fortifications." Chief Joseph, says Dr. Britt, "was the best of them all."

FRANK E. ROSS.

The Faithful Mohawks. By JOHN WOLFE LYDEKKER. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1938, pp. xii, 206, $3.75.) Students of the American colonial period have long recognized the archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel as a valuable source of history for religion, education, society, and the Iroquois. The archivist of the S.P.G. has culled from the collection materials for this sketch. Chronologically the account covers nearly a century and a half (1664-1807). The brief survey in chapter I of the relations of the French, on the one hand, to the Dutch and the English, on the other, prior

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to 1704, is fairly well done. Brodhead (I, 408) gives the date of the treaty of Director Kieft with the Mohawks as 1645, not 1644. The bulk of the volume is devoted to a description of mission work among the Mohawks after 1704. A vivid picture is given of the famous visit of King Kendrick and his fellow sachems to the court of Queen Anne and its results among the Mohawks. Sir William Johnson is praised as "the greatest native administrator of his time". It seems strange that the author should not have used the eight volumes of the *Sir William Johnson Papers,* published by the State of New York. The chapter devoted to the Revolution is discussed from the Loyalist standpoint. Too much reliance is placed on Stone's *Life of Joseph Brant;* the author would have profited by the use of later works on Brant. After 1783 Brant labored indefatigably to obtain compensation for the loyal Iroquois from the imperial government and to make some satisfactory adjustment for them with the State of New York and the Federal government. While one may regret that the author did not make better use of sources available in Canada and the United States to round out his study of the Mohawks in the eighteenth century, yet the book as it stands was well worth doing. A. C. FLICK.

General Washington's Dilemma. By KATHERINE MAYO. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1938, pp. viii, 323, $2.50.) Miss Mayo's acknowledgment and bibliography attest her assiduity, but a curiously twisted logic, a lack of the critical faculty, a fervent pro-British sympathy, and a fondness for what is called "sob-sister" handling make this book useless to the historian. To begin with, the title is a misnomer. The Asgill affair was decidedly not a dilemma to General Washington, and Miss Mayo, once or twice, seems to grasp this, but pauses not in her energetic efforts to "show up" the American commander in chief, for once, as an unstable, nervous, unprincipled, characterless trimmer, while all the British officers are highminded, honorable gentlemen intent only on righteousness and justice. Miss Mayo's Washington is a contemptible creature, incapable of fair dealing and willing to compromise honor to sustain the impossible position in which he has placed himself, according to her weird logic. Her characterization, so completely at variance with Washington's life record, is grotesque. Her viewpoint is entirely personal, whereas Washington's handling of the Asgill case was impersonal at every point. His purpose was to prevent the threatened outbreak of blood reprisals which, once started, would end no man knew where and might even be the means of losing the war for America, which was already practically won. The most extraordinary instance of Miss Mayo's use of documents is the citation of a "memorandum from the French Government", which Luzerne was to "produce and use . . . only if softer means failed" to save Asgill (pp. 237-38). Can Miss Mayo produce this document? JOHN C. FITZPATRICK.

American Naval Songs & Ballads. Edited by ROBERT W. NEESER. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1938, pp. xviii, 372, $2.50.) For many years Mr. Neeser has been writing about the navy, a subject in which he became interested at an early age. A lover of the service and its history, he always produces a good book. His latest work is marked by the excellencies that characterize his writings—painstaking research, precision of statement, and orderly arrangement. Its title page, text, illustrations, paper, binding, bibliography, and index give evidence of careful consideration and combine to make a handsome volume. With a wealth of materials to draw upon, selection was inevitable. Only the best songs and ballads are included. The criteria as to what constitutes "the best" are three: poetical merit, truthful reflection of public opinion on the navy and its doings, and vivid description of naval life from the service point of view.

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The selection is further limited, almost exclusively, to the Old Navy, the navy of the sailing ship. The period covered by the volume extends from 1775, the year of the founding of the Continental Navy, to 1882, the beginning date of the New Navy. Naval balladry appears to have been at its height during the War of 1812, for more than half of the selections relate to this war. The writers are both from within and outside the service, many of them unknown. The book is a useful addition to naval history and folklore. CHARLES O. PAULLIN.

The Society of the Sacred Heart in North America. By LOUISE CALLAN. With an Introduction by the Reverend GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1937, pp. xvii, 809, $5.00.) This book is not only the story of the Society of the Sacred Heart but also a memorial to the Reverend Mother Mary Reid, superior of the Southern Vicariate for the past twenty-five years and late president of Maryville College of the Sacred Heart in St. Louis. Any adequate account of Christian education must give a prominent place to the Society of the Sacred Heart, which had its origin in the work of St. Madeleine Sophie Barat, who started her work for the Church in France soon after that country began to emerge from the confusion of the Revolution. Shortly after she and three companions consecrated themselves to the glory of the Sacred Heart, the society was pledged to begin its work in the American mission field in the spring of 1818. The society carried on its missionary labors in Missouri, Louisiana, among the Potawatomi Indians, in New York City, in Pennsylvania, in Quebec, along northern lakes and rivers, in the Mississippi Valley, in Chicago, and elsewhere. Chapter VIII gives the internal history of the society from 1820 to 1852, and chapters XX and XXI deal with events and foundations in the twentieth century and the educational system of the society. The appendix contains interesting statistics. In 1935 the membership of the society in the United States and Canada was more than twelve hundred; it had thirty-three institutions with an enrollment of almost nine thousand. Attendance at retreats for Catholic girls and women during that year was above nine thousand.

EDGAR W. KNIGHT.

March of the Iron Men: A Social History of Union through Invention. By ROGER BURLINGAME. (New York, Scribner, 1938, pp. xvi, 500, $3.75.) This stimulating volume is concerned more with the effects of inventions applied to our problems than with the inventions themselves. The author's thesis may be expressed as follows. If the United States had been formed a century earlier, it would have broken up through lack of technological means of cohesion. By the time of the Revolution the world level of invention was such that, after a period in which the Union remained together by political tolerance, it became a union through applied technological force. America's major problems were those engendered by distance, which intensified the need of communication and transport. For that reason in America the engine was relatively of less importance in the factory than in the steamboat and on the railroad. As the problems of transportation were solved, a flood of immigrants poured into the new Western land. In the South this expansion was dependent upon the cotton gin, and in the North it was later aided by the grain reaper. Inventions applicable to the respective sections brought a certain unity within them and fostered a difference in social systems, but by aiding in developing a preponderance of power in the North they enabled the Union to hold together. "Inventions in transport and industry had already united the North and West on fundamental needs of livelihood but the press united them mentally and emotionally. The final spark ran along the fuse of journalism. . . . Thus in 1865 the pattern of the nation was complete. . . .

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Whether we liked it or not our movement was [henceforth] to be collective". Such is the author's interpretation, and a very good case he makes out for it. He makes no claim that this is a complete history, but he may justly hold that it throws into better perspective some of the factors frequently minimized. The volume is well illustrated and contains a reference list of events and inventions.

RUSSELL H. ANDERSON.

A Political History of the Cherokee Nation, 1838-1907. By MORRIS L. WARDELL. [The Civilization of the American Indian.] (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1938, pp. vi, 383, $3.50.) The Cherokee Indians loom large in the annals of the Anglo-American West. They were a comparatively populous tribe. Their original culture was probably superior to that of any other Indians east of the Mississippi, and they appropriated readily various institutions of the white man. Of great importance is the fact that by about 1840 they had come to be a literate people. Their leaders could speak and write forceful English; and, thanks to Sequoyah's syllabary, most of those adults who did not know English could use their own written language. Their history is not that of a savage people but rather the story of an intelligent native group struggling to maintain its integrity and defend its own institutions against the too rapid advance of the Euro-Americans. Although Dr. Wardell has not ignored certain social and economic forces, his book is truly what the title indicates, a political history of the Cherokees. The task he set for himself was not an easy one. Threads of the narrative had to be interwoven with all the intricacy of a piece of old lace. One wonders if he could not have simplified his story a little and thus have made easier the task of the reader. This might have detracted from the precision and thoroughness of the work, however. His general organization is good, and he writes in the sure and convincing fashion of one who knows a great deal more about his subject than he puts in his book. His bibliography, which is superbly organized, fills ten pages and reveals many manuscript sources which have not been used by other historians. Seventeen maps and illustrations add to the usefulness and interest of the book.

RUPERT N. RICHARDSON.

Men and Iron: The History of New York Central. By EDWARD HUNGERFORD. (New York, Crowell, 1938, pp. vii, 424, $3.75.) This book has all the good qualities and all the shortcomings of similar volumes on transportation that have come from the pen of Mr. Hungerford. Despite its title it is not a well-rounded history of the New York Central system or even of the lines of that system east of Buffalo. Instead, its twenty-four chapters emphasize in somewhat journalistic fashion many of the high spots in the history of one of America's outstanding railway systems. One searches these pages in vain for the story of the relation of the House of Morgan to the New York Central or to its acquisition of the West Shore. Only one sentence, at the top of page 343, would indicate that J. P. Morgan had a hand in the Central's destinies or profited thereby. Nor does one find any inkling of labor troubles, particularly of the famous strike of 1890 when the Central was under the presidency of Chauncey M. Depew and the vice-presidency of H. Walter Webb. One would also like to know more about the relations of New York Central officials to political spokesmen than is shown in these pages. As an executive of the New York Central, Mr. Hungerford apparently has had access to official sources, but many of the excerpts with which the book is liberally sprinkled are drawn from newspaper accounts. The technical apparatus of the careful historian, namely, footnote references and an appended bibliography, are not used. Of the several illustrations the map opposite page 88 is perhaps most useful. One who desires to learn something of the

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many persons directly or indirectly concerned with the formation and development of the New York Central will find much in this volume that is worth while, but those who turn to it in the expectation of a definitive history will be disappointed. HARRY J. CARMAN.

One Man in his Time: The Adventures of H. Watkins, Strolling Player, 1845-1863, from his Journal. By MAUD and OTIS SKINNER. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1938, pp. xvii, 258, $2.50.) This slender little volume, comprising copious extracts from the Journal of Harry Watkins supplemented by Otis Skinner's interpretative running comment, affords an intimate picture of the mid-century American stage which is of peculiar interest to the social historian. For Harry Watkins was not a star, a successful manager, or a critic. He was "a humble but eager practitioner" of the theater during one of the most interesting periods of its development. His journal consequently presents a picture of the conditions of theatrical life, especially in the provinces, quite different from that drawn in the reminiscences of more famous players. Mr. Skinner has provided the framework for the journal—paraphrasing certain parts of it, filling in gaps, explaining the diarist's references, painting the portraits of contemporary actors, and enlivening the whole with a rich fund of amusing stories of the stage. This running comment gives the book its continuity and a very definite popular appeal. For the historian the journal itself remains of greatest value. One might wish on these grounds that it had been more fully reproduced and more effort taken with the admittedly difficult task of dating the excerpts, but Mr. Skinner was not compiling a source book.
FOSTER RHEA DULLES.

Life of Abraham Lincoln. By W. D. HOWELLS. (Springfield, Abraham Lincoln Association, 1938, pp. xvii, xii, 94, $3.00.) Whether viewed as a Lincoln item, a Howells document, a study in historiography, or an example of the publisher's craft, this book is a delight. Written hastily by Howells on the basis of material assembled by a youngster named James Q. Howard, the volume as published in the summer of 1860 contained a number of errors. The present edition is a superb reproduction of the copy owned by Samuel C. Parks as corrected by Lincoln in pencil. The editor's preface tells the story of the original and of Lincoln's annotations with that competent scholarship which characterizes the Abraham Lincoln Association. J. G. RANDALL.

The Life and Speeches of Abraham Lincoln, and Hannibal Hamlin. Edited and published by REUBEN VOSE. (Fort Wayne, Lincoln National Life Foundation, 1938, pp. li, 42-118, $2.00.) This tiny 32mo is a reproduction of a campaign biography which was registered for copyright on May 30, 1860, the very month of Lincoln's unexpected nomination. Owing to the great rarity of the original, the reproduction will be welcomed by Lincoln collectors. If copyright registry be the criterion, it appears that the book was preceded by the "Wide-awake edition" registered by Thayer and Eldridge of Boston on May 28. A minor part of the book is devoted to Lincoln; the rest consists of the Republican platform and other campaign material. J. G. RANDALL.

Dana and "The Sun". By CANDACE STONE. (New York, Dodd, Mead, 1938, pp. xiii, 431, $3.50.) By diligently perusing the *New York Sun's* editorial files the author of this book has been able to trace the views of Charles Dana and the *Sun* on every important political question and proposal for social reform during the thirty years following the election of Grant, thereby contributing a valuable newspaper study. Unfortunately, Miss Stone has not drawn very extensively

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from sources outside the *Sun's* files to throw light upon the forces behind the scenes, which may have affected the public expression of Dana's views. Her conclusions seem sound, however, that the editor was more interested in the journalist's art than in the molding of public opinion, and that the public read the *Sun* primarily for its humor, spice, and "witty indignation" rather than to learn its position on public questions. One unique feature of the study is an analysis of public sentiment on contemporary issues made by noting the effect of Dana's editorials upon the paper's circulation figures. Extensive quotations from the *Sun* have their value but tend to accentuate the effect of a rather labored style of presentation. RALPH R. FAHRNEY.

John Phoenix, Esq., the Veritable Squibob: A Life of Captain George H. Derby, U.S.A. By GEORGE R. STEWART. (New York, Henry Holt, 1937, pp. xiv, 242, $2.50.) In writing his biography of Derby (pseudonymously "Phoenix" and "Squibob"), Professor Stewart performed commendably some of the tasks of a biographer. He drew upon an exhaustive body of printed and unprinted documents, a large share of them previously unexploited. The data were presented gracefully, interestingly, and fully. Further, he realized clearly the justification for his research. His subject's personality, he said, was "too vivid and vivacious to be allowed to slip into oblivion". Derby's life "was often . . . significant of America's own development—a New England education of the thirties, West Point in the forties, the Mexican War, the experiences of a hard-working Army engineer. Even more important than any of these is an opportunity which his life gives for the display of the early West, particularly in its fun-loving phases." Often, when the humorist's vivid personal records and the tales which made Derby almost legendary during his lifetime give an insight into an ingratiating character and his background, these implied objectives are achieved. Rather too frequently, however, the achievement falls short of the aim. The captain's personality apparently remains to the end of the study essentially a puzzle solvable (despite a rejection of such a solution) only in terms of a mental split. And Mr. Stewart's dubious implications about such matters as the stodgy nature of army exploration reports (p. 63), the lack of social preachments in the literature of the fifties (p. 175), the state of American Calvinism in the same decade (p. 176), several phases of the development of native humor (pp. 58, 172, 177, 197), and other details concerning the environment of his subject make the volume less valuable than it might have been for historical purposes. WALTER BLAIR.

Magoon in Cuba: A History of the Second Intervention, 1906-1909. By DAVID A. LOCKMILLER. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1938, pp. xiii, 252, $3.00.) This volume treats in detail the history of a somewhat misunderstood period of American-Cuban relations under the operation of the Platt Amendment. The author expresses the opinion that the American government could have prevented formal intervention if the members of the American peace mission, Taft and Bacon, had supported President Palma in the August revolution of 1906, but he is certain that intervention was the only solution after the Cuban government quit (in September). Charles E. Magoon, whom Roosevelt selected as the civilian provisional governor of Cuba for the period of intervention, was well qualified by previous experience. At the end of his term of office he was highly praised by editorials of the Cuban press for the success of his administration in accomplishing a "tremendous task", and in the favorable estimates of his work he had the weight of contemporary public opinion both in Cuba and in the United States. After careful examination of the evidence relating to later complaints and charges against Magoon the author finds no proof

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of his personal dishonesty but on the contrary positive proofs of his honesty. Rumors of bribery in connection with the purchase of church property he declares are without any factual foundation. In his researches the author has relied chiefly upon abundant published government documents and newspaper and periodical material, both American and Cuban, and upon Cuban monographs and pamphlets. He has also used the papers of public men and has obtained evidence from interviews with participants in the intervention. The volume is equipped with extensive footnote references, a select bibliography, and an adequate index. J. M. CALLAHAN.

The United States and World Organization, 1920-1933. By DENNA FRANK FLEMING. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1938, pp. xiv, 569, $4.00.) Professor Fleming has written a severe indictment of American foreign policy from the armistice to the present. Admittedly his book is not pleasant reading for Americans, whatever their persuasions about the League of Nations. It is generally conceded that the portentous issues involved in American ratification of the Treaty of Versailles were discussed and disposed of in a spirit of personal bitterness, partisan advantage, and political pettiness, which, in retrospect, constitute a tragic spectacle. And there can be no doubt that the repudiation before the world of an American President by a minority of the Senate was poor statesmanship, the more so as the tactics employed were unworthy of a great people. Having drawn an indictment, Professor Fleming naturally assumes the role of prosecutor rather than of judge. He resorts to a good deal of ex post facto reasoning in charging most, if not all, of the ills of Europe to nonratification by the United States of the Covenant and the tripartite Treaty of Guarantee. He creates an atmosphere of prejudice in exhuming the oil and veterans' scandals, Harry Daugherty, Jess Smith, poker and drinking parties in the White House, and other matters extraneous to Harding's foreign policy. The stock market inflation is brought into the picture for purposes not altogether clear. His estimate of the causes of American participation in the war might have been written in the febrile days of 1917. It would be unkind to discuss his concluding chapter "Toward the Future"—written before Berchtesgaden and Godesberg and Munich —except to say that it places American foreign policy in the altogether unrealistic dilemma of "collective security" *vs.* "isolation", "We" or "They". What was unrealistic before Munich is fantastic now. It is only fair to say that Professor Fleming would not pretend that he has written in a spirit of calm detachment. But even as special pleading this book overshoots the mark.

EDWARD MEAD EARLE.

The Interstate Commerce Commission: A Study in Administrative Law and Procedure. By I. L. SHARFMAN. Part Four. (New York, Commonwealth Fund, 1937, pp. xii, 550, $4.50.) The final volume of Professor Sharfman's monumental work deals with the organization and procedure of the Interstate Commerce Commission. While these were inevitably touched on in the earlier volumes, they are here presented in exhaustive fashion. Separate chapters cover the mechanism of administration, the procedural processes, and the pressure of administrative burdens, while a final one gives the author's well-considered conclusions. The commission is a "model tribunal", which has contributed substantially to the development of a sound regulatory process. Primarily responsible for its success, aside from the personal competence and disinterestedness of the staff, has been its pragmatic handling of problems. It developed its regulatory powers slowly, on the basis of trial and error and in response to practical needs but always under a sense of realism and restraint. It based its findings on the assumption of private

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enterprise and individual initiative. This approach suggests a certain weakness in such a system. Prevailing methods have generally constituted the starting point of regulatory proceedings, but this has prevented bold and constructive handling of some major problems. Foremost among these is the financial structure of the railroads, which is a chief cause of their present weakness. "The future handling of these financial problems will constitute an important test of the constructive possibilities of the regulatory process". The purpose of control, concludes Professor Sharfman, "is not to achieve a fixed goal by reconstituting the organization and operation of the transport agencies, but to maintain a moving balance between private rights and public interests by directing their various manifestations into nationally desirable channels". The commission has been able to avoid the pitfalls of both unrestrained individual freedom and outright collective action. Its rich experience of half a century thus furnishes the most enlightening background for testing in perspective the economic soundness, legal validity, and administrative effectiveness of the newer projects and proposals for public control of private enterprise. E. L. BOGART.

Bibliographies in American History: Guide to Materials for Research. By HENRY PUTNEY BEERS. (New York, H. W. Wilson, 1938, pp. 339, $3.50.) The author's aim was to compile a comprehensive catalogue of bibliographical materials for research in American history. He has included the economic, educational, religious, artistic, literary, and scientific aspects of history as well as the diplomatic, political, and social. He lists 7692 separate bibliographical items, which are arranged in fourteen chapters, with more minute classification by period, country, or type. A detailed author and subject index refers by number directly to each item. It is difficult to appraise a work of this character. No two individuals would agree as to the inclusion of a particular title. It is debatable whether a compiler is justified in the duplication of effort involved in enumerating general bibliographical tools, common to all subjects, when reference to Mudge's *Guide to Reference Books* and to Van Hoesen and Walter's *Bibliography: Practical, Enumerative, Historical* would not only have indicated but would also have described them. The chapter on local history (approximately one fourth of the work), devoted to lists relating to the states and territories, is especially valuable, since literature on localities is voluminous but often fugitive and inaccessible. Heretofore no up-to-date guide has been available. The main question that presents itself to the reviewer is whether so general a work serves its purpose. Would not a selection of the more valuable bibliographies have rendered a greater service; or, if the inclusive list is desirable, could not a symbol have been used to indicate the titles of first importance? For example, that indispensable work by Bemis and Griffin, *Guide to the Diplomatic History of the United States,* has no mark to distinguish it from a fifteen-page mimeographed bibliography on *Diplomacy.* EDITH M. COULTER.

The Official Publications of American Counties: A Union List. By JAMES GOODWIN HODGSON. With an Introduction on Collecting of County Publications. (Fort Collins, Colorado State College Library, 1937, pp. xxii, 594, $5.00.) The holdings of 194 American libraries are reported herein. Over five thousand entries are listed, but as this averages less than two per county, it is obvious that further research will add materially to this useful bibliography. In addition to administrative, financial, and educational reports, listings include occasional county histories published under official auspices, indexes of deeds, wills, and court records, and a few documentary publications for the period prior to 1800.

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W. STULL HOLT, ed. Henry Adams and the Johns Hopkins University. *New Eng. Quar.*, Sept.

NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The French Occupation of the Champlain Valley from 1609 to 1759. By GUY OMERON COOLIDGE. (Brattleboro, Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society, 1938, pp. 173, 75 cents.) In this monograph the author undertakes "to fill a gap in the history of Vermont". "From an enormous mass of correspondence, and from a great number of isolated references in published works" Mr. Coolidge has sought "to resurrect the story of one hundred and fifty years of effort". The first half of the volume is chiefly a chronicle of the early explorations and missionizing efforts through what is known as King William's War and Queen Anne's War, to about the year 1725, when the French seriously entered upon the task of colonizing the valley. It is from this point that the author makes his distinctive contribution to the history of the region. Drawing extensively upon documentary sources, he sets before us the records of the great seigniories into which the region was carved in the next few years, relates the history of the building of Fort St. Frederic and of the establishment of settlements there and elsewhere, drawing largely from the "Chronicle of St. Frederic". Of the hundred and fifty years of occupation no physical traces were left, says the author, "other than the mute and deserted ruins of their homes and military posts, surrounded by the cultivated fields which represent civilization". Many of the place names, nevertheless, survive to this day. Appended to the volume are useful lists of the governors and intendants and of the commandants and chaplains at Fort St. Frederic.

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The Finns on the Delaware, 1638-1655: An Essay in American History. By JOHN H. WUORINEN. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1938, pp. ix, 179, $1.25.) The American Finnish Delaware Tercentenary Committee gave Dr. Wuorinen an impossible task. To be sure, Finns played an important part in New Sweden, but the Finnish element on the Delaware cannot be isolated for particular study. Apparently only one contemporary document wherein Finns and Swedes are differentiated is known to exist (p. 76). Throughout the volume, which is a careful and concise summary of the history of New Sweden from 1638 to 1655, the author is obliged to refer to the settlers as "Swedes and Finns". The title of the work should have carried the same inclusive phrase. Dr. Wuorinen, however, faced his impossible task with scholarly caution. He made no strained interpretation of his materials to emphasize the Finnish element. He wisely avoided drawing conclusions from name similarities. He did point out, with proper qualifications, that the recruits drawn from Värmland and Södermanland (provinces populated in some measure by Finns) may have included some Finnish emigrants. While no new contribution to the history of New Sweden is made, the work is valuable for its concise and scholarly summary of the story of the settlements and especially for its emphasis upon economic backgrounds and upon the influence of foreign merchants, notably the Dutch, in Swedish commercial enterprise. The author's statement that the history of New Sweden "is still largely unwritten" (p. 114) is open to question in view of the excellent work of Ohdner, Keen, and, especially, Johnson. Minor errors such as "Anglization" are more conspicuous because of their rarity. The appendix, including congressional debates and resolutions on the tercentenary, adds nothing to the historical information but perhaps serves to show that this work owes its existence to that spirit of Finnish nationalism on which Dr. Wuorinen is an authority. But this could have been shown in less than fifty pages.

JULIAN P. BOYD.

Salem in the Eighteenth Century. By JAMES DUNCAN PHILLIPS. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1937, pp. xix, 533, $4.00.) In the same delightful, informal style Mr. Phillips has continued his *Salem in the Seventeenth Century* (1933) from the downfall of the Andros regime to 1783. Like this earlier volume, the present one is no ordinary town history but brings the story of Salem into relationship with the history of Massachusetts and England. Fishing, shipbuilding, and trade were the basic activities of the town. In 1760 Salem was a more important port of departure than Boston. The attacks of French and Indians usually fell on the frontier, and Salem was "a frontier town to the sea" (p. 9). Her fishing and trade suffered, and privateers and letter-of-marque ships flourished. Although much of the military history can be sketched only in bold strokes, Mr. Phillips has given an excellent and vivid description of the capture of Louisbourg in 1745. In the American Revolution Salem played its part. Mr. Phillips has made exemplary use of primary sources, but his list of secondary works is less complete. And finally, the fine of a hog reeve (p. 213) represented, not an attempt to force him to serve, but the price of exemption from the onerous duties.

ISABEL M. CALDER.

In French Creek Valley. By JOHN EARLE REYNOLDS. (Meadville, Crawford County Historical Society, 1938, pp. 352.) The author indicates the historical importance of this work when he states that his intention was "to sketch informally the story of the development of French Creek Valley". In general the twenty-seven sketches in chapter form which constitute the volume deal in rather casual fashion with local personages and events. Quotations from sources are liberally

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used. Many illustrations and sightly printing render the book attractive, although typographical errors are rather frequent. There is an index and a not very satisfactory bibliography. A "formal" account of French Creek Valley might have possessed considerable historical interest, for it is part of the natural highway between Pittsburgh and Presqu'Isle used by Washington in his famous journey of 1753. The Venango forts were built near its mouth, and Ft. Franklin was erected a short distance upstream in 1787. Correspondence between Gen. Josiah Harmar and the commanders of Ft. Franklin from 1787 to 1791 in the Harmar Papers in the William L. Clements Library throw considerable light on the history of this region. JOHN R. ALDEN.

Pennsylvania Iron Manufacture in the Eighteenth Century. By ARTHUR CECIL BINING. (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Historical Commission, 1938, pp. 227.) The significance of this scholarly little volume is that it presents the details of the old furnace and forge industry common to eighteenth and early nineteenth century America. Though the Pennsylvania industry crossed the Alleghanies before 1800, it began and centered in the southeast, in the Schuylkill, Delaware, and Susquehanna river valleys. Its capital was limited; it antedated all revolutionary processes; its sole fuel was charcoal; it was rural, and its basis agricultural. A few slitting mills, plating mills, and blister steel works rose in the towns. Skilled blacksmiths were urban as well as rural; but blast furnaces and bloomery and refinery forges, the real ironworks, were organized on plantations of from three hundred to ten thousand acres. Here, as in Virginia, Negro slave as well as white artisans were employed. Perhaps their isolation caused the iron plantations to fade from public memory. Almost self-sufficing communities, they consisted of "the mansion house, the homes of the workers, the furnace and forge or forges, the iron mines, the charcoal house, the dense woods . . . the office, the store, the gristmill, the sawmill, the blacksmith shop, the large outside bake oven, the barns, the grain fields, and orchards". In some respects they resembled small medieval manors. The author's purpose is to present especially "the social and economic aspects" of the industry. Though he occasionally repeats, he writes clearly and illuminatingly. His research is intensive, comprehensive, thorough. He demonstrates the significance of the ironmasters. Partners owning large interests included national figures like John Dickinson and James Wilson. The amazing list of manuscripts seems to warrant an expanded book to show the larger influence on Pennsylvania, perhaps on America.

KATHLEEN BRUCE.

The Arts and Crafts in New York, 1726-1776: Advertisements and News Items from New York City Newspapers. [Compiled by RITA SUSSWEIN GOTTESMAN.] (New York, New York Historical Society, 1938, pp. xviii, 450, $3.00.) Following in the path of Benjamin Peter Hunt, whose pioneer extracts of servant and immigration items in colonial newspapers remain unpublished, and of more recent compilers including Dow, Weeks, Bacon, and Prime, Mrs. Gottesman has compiled from advertisements and news items gleaned from all the New York City newspapers, 1726-76, material relating to the early crafts. The resultant volume is a useful short cut for the social historian to essential newspaper material, in most cases the only records available on the activities of craftsmen. Owing to the expansion of home manufactures and the growth of population the number of such advertisements increases markedly after 1750. The compiler has included all craftsmen who advertised in New York City newspapers whether or not they worked or resided in New York, but this policy at times is a source of confusion to the reader. It would have been more logical to have eschewed items of nonresidents. Humor abounds in these extracts. A clockmaker warns

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shopbreakers that if they choose to return "during the cold Season, he will take care to provide them a warm Reception". Craftsmen, in the absence of gilds, at times stooped to malicious attacks on the character or skill of fellow artists. Customary advertisements for the return of "a lusty well-set Negro" or a "Smart Wench" garnish these pages. Here also are preserved that fast-vanishing feature of American life, the "Help Wanted" advertisements. It bespeaks a somewhat wider musical activity than is generally accredited to New York in those times to find an advertisement in 1752 of a bookbinder who "likewise rules Musick to the greatest Perfection". In addition to the specialist, the jack-of-all-trades is not uncommon. RICHARD B. MORRIS.

A Revolutionary Conservative: James Duane of New York. By EDWARD P. ALEXANDER. [New York State Historical Association.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1938, pp. xviii, 283, $3.00.) Fame in some instances is a matter of chance. Had this excellent volume appeared a century ago, James Duane might have been as well known to American school boys as Gouverneur Morris and John Jay instead of hovering in the nimbus of second or third-rate statesmen of the Revolutionary period. This biography proves that orators and military heroes are not alone responsible for the progress of a people. Duane deserves appreciation, certainly, and perhaps praise as well, for having helped to lay the foundations on which the Republic was built. In an intensely interesting interpretation Dr. Alexander has shown that Duane was a tremendous worker, raised money to keep the patriot army going under heart-rending conditions, had a keen judicial mind, handled people in a conciliatory manner, stood aside while more eloquent men pleaded the cause of independence, and possessed a rare understanding of the rights and feelings of the American on the other side of the controversy. Comprehending the points of view of Whig and Loyalist, he had an insight that enabled him to speak and act at the right time. A stickler for law and order as well as for established government, he came slowly to the idea of a revolution, but when a separation from the empire seemed inevitable he stood stanchly behind Congress and Washington. In addition to the many new facts set forth about Duane, this volume throws much light on the little-known legal profession in colonial days, on the first Federal district courts, on the Hampshire Grants, on land speculation, on the Livingston family, on the treatment of Loyalists, and particularly on the establishment of what might be called the manor and village of Duanesburg. The book is remarkably free from factual errors, and one finds it easy to agree with the opinions and conclusions expressed. A. C. FLICK.

Early Western Pennsylvania Politics. By RUSSELL J. FERGUSON. (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1938, pp. vii, 300, $3.00.) A significant phase of the history of American democracy is the process of its development in frontier communities. A series of studies of this type for the various frontier regions is essential to the better understanding of political behavior. Such essays should not only consider organization, issues, and leaders, but should seek to discover the process of the growth in political effectiveness of a frontier region, of the struggle against older and better established political powers, and of the means used to obtain recognition of its needs and aid for its projects. The author of this book was commissioned by the Western Pennsylvania Historial Survey to make this study, but unfortunately it had to be done in a limited time and with inadequate material. The sources were not readily available and have been only in small part discovered. The result is an adequate plan inadequately developed. The author has studied physiographic conditions and the growth of communities and

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has endeavored to relate political behavior to its social background. But, presumably because of lack of material, he has drawn too copiously upon the general history of Pennsylvania and the Jeffersonian partisanship in the nation at large. The process in Western Pennsylvania is not clearly defined and is sometimes lost from view. The book is well made and aptly illustrated by some interesting portraits. The character sketches of the early leaders are effectively done. The whole work can be classed as a preliminary survey of an important subject, which lays down certain sound principles, but which leaves the vivid story of a new section creating its own political institutions yet to be told. It is to be hoped that the means for the telling have not been lost.

ROY F. NICHOLS.

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The Vestry Book and Register of St. Peter's Parish, New Kent and James City Counties, Virginia, 1684-1786. Transcribed and edited by C. G. CHAMBERLAYNE. (Richmond, Library Board of Virginia, 1937, pp. xxvi, 840.) This volume is the fifth in a series of original parish records of Virginia published by the State

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Library Board. Four of these volumes, including the present one, are especially valuable because they relate to an area in the Peninsula between the James and York rivers where the local archives of the period have been lost. The Vestry Book and Register of St. Peter's Parish were published separately by the Colonial Dames of America in Virginia in 1904 and 1905, respectively. These volumes, however, long out of print, were somewhat incomplete transcriptions of the originals, and they lacked the scholarly editing which Dr. Chamberlayne now provides. The chief historical value of the parish vestry book lies in its routine periodic entries of receipts and expenditures, tax levies, processioning of lands, and provisions for public welfare. He who seeks the unusual or the dramatic will generally be disappointed; yet in the very casualness of some brief phrase the scholar may find much to ponder. In addition to routine matters the record of St. Peter's contains considerable descriptive material about the construction of its upper and lower churches and the glebe house. The operation of a ferry by the parish is an early example of a publicly owned utility. The archivist will be gratified to learn that the register book was ordered to be kept in a chest in the lower church and that the clerk had custody of the key. The parish register for 1733 to 1786 includes 220 pages of births and baptisms, 10 of marriages, and 30 of deaths. In the appendixes the editor has assembled copies of official documents and other source material (some hitherto unpublished) pertaining to the parish. A thorough name and subject index completes the volume.

LESTER J. CAPPON.

The Siege of Charleston, with an Account of the Province of South Carolina: Diaries and Letters of Hessian Officers from the Von Jungkenn Papers in the William L. Clements Library. Translated and edited by BERNHARD A. UHLENDORF. (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1938, pp. xi, 445, $4.00.) This volume of first-hand accounts of the siege of Charleston in 1779-80 is composed, with the exception of a few letters of minor importance, of three diaries by Hessian officers who took part in the siege. The least substantial is that of Major General Johann Christoph von Huyn. The general was evidently a rather dull fellow, for there is nothing in what he wrote that either arouses our interest or makes us feel that it was worth preserving. The diary of Captain Johann Ewald is somewhat more valuable. It has some illuminating bits now and then, although it is for the most part a pretty matter-of-fact account and seems to be the work of a competent but not very imaginative man. The diary is not signed, but the editor attributes it to Captain Ewald from evidence provided by the diary next to be mentioned. This diary, that of Captain Johann Hinrichs, forms both the largest and most valuable part of the book. Captain Hinrichs was a keen observer and a wielder of a sprightly pen. His account tells the story of the expedition from the time that it left New York until it returned. It is filled, as the others are not, with various enjoyable asides that illustrate the multiplicity of the author's interests. There is a long section, entirely apart from the narrative, devoted to an account of the history, character, and physical resources of South Carolina. The editor is to be commended for an excellent translation and for the admirable arrangement of printing the original and the translation upon facing pages.

TROYER S. ANDERSON.

The Tobacco Kingdom: Plantation, Market, and Factory in Virginia and North Carolina, 1800-1860. By JOSEPH CLARKE ROBERT. (Durham, Duke University Press, 1938, pp. xiii, 286, $3.00.) This book tells the story of tobacco from seed to quid in an era when "manufactured tobacco was virtually synonymous with chewing tobacco". Although few technical details are omitted, a clear picture

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is obtained of the tobacco industry before the Civil War in the country's chief tobacco region—a trapezoidal shaped area in the Virginia piedmont, its narrow top reaching Fredericksburg and its broad base being the northern tier of North Carolina piedmont counties. The book is divided into three parts. In the first the tedious process of growing tobacco is described, from preparing the plant beds in January to packing the hogsheads in December. The second part takes up transportation and marketing. The chief markets were Richmond, Petersburg, Lynchburg, and Danville, important in that order. Especially interesting are the story of the railroad building competition by these market cities to tap the hinterland and the account of the decline of the long-used tobacco note, the rise of the inspector as auctioneer, and his displacement by the Tobacco Exchange. In the third part manufacturing and sale are discussed. Until 1840 most Virginia tobacco was exported; afterwards most of it was manufactured in Virginia. A chapter is devoted to the thirteen thousand slaves who worked in tobacco factories in 1860. The book has all the accoutrements of a scholarly piece of work: picturesque illustrations, a generous supply of clear maps, charts, and tables, a helpful appendix, and a good index. A well-organized bibliography and judicious footnoting give evidence of careful use of newspapers and plantation records. My lone criticism is that Dr. Robert touches too lightly on some of the broader aspects of his subject, such as the effects of soil exhaustion and the draining of slaves to the cotton kingdom. DONALD L. KEMMERER.

Mississippi: Storm Center of Secession, 1856-1861. By PERCY LEE RAINWATER. (Baton Rouge, Otto Claitor, 1938, pp. xi, 248, $4.00.) Professor Rainwater's study is a worthy companion, from the standpoint of substantial scholarship, to Shanks's *The Secession Movement in Virignia, 1847-1861,* and Denman's *The Secession Movement in Alabama.* Perhaps its significance is greater because of the leading position of Mississippi in the movement for Southern independence. In addition to narrating actual events, Rainwater has presented the various alternatives that were considered at moments of decision, and he has described the tactics by which opposing politicians sought to gain their ends. Public opinion is explained by maps as well as by words in terms of such basic social and economic factors as cotton production, soil fertility, and slaveholding. The maps are very significant, although several are perhaps too crowded with data. In the reviewer's opinion, the most informative chapters are the fourth, which summarizes the arguments for and against a separate South, and the tenth, which is entitled "The Personnel and Work of the Convention of 1861". While the study is primarily analytical and interpretative, enough of contemporary material has been quoted to convey something of the feeling of the times—the enthusiasms, the anger, and the emotional appeals that were so influential in determining the course of events. It is unfortunate that the publisher of this book fell short of the excellence achieved by the author. CHARLES S. SYDNOR.

Minutes of the Proceedings of the Greenville Ladies' Association in Aid of the Volunteers of the Confederate Army. Edited by JAMES WELCH PATTON. [Trinity College Historical Society.] (Durham, Duke University Press, 1937, pp. 118, $1.00.) In reading the minutes of this society, which was organized two days before the first battle of Bull Run and continued until May 1, 1865, one gets a view of the practical and efficient way in which the women of the South went about providing for the needs of the soldiers of the Confederate armies and relieving the distress of the wounded and sick. In addition to being valuable historically the minutes are surprisingly interesting; this is in no small part due to the capable way in which they were edited.

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The Girls of the Sixties. By ELIZABETH WARING MCMASTER. (Columbia, S. C., privately printed, 1937, pp. 175, $5.00.) This volume is a compilation of sketches of more than one hundred members of a group of Richland County (S. C.) women who were girls or young women during the Civil War. Some twenty of the sketches contain interesting personal narratives of experiences during the war, and a dozen more include interesting reminiscences of the subjects' experiences by members of their families. While not to be compared with such a compilation as *South Carolina Women in the Confederacy,* edited by Mrs. T. E. Taylor, this volume helps to round out a picture of life behind the lines and life in the path of a ravaging army. Either an index or a list of the subjects by their maiden names would have been a valuable addition.

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CHARLES G. CORDLE, ed. The John Tobler Manuscripts: An Account of German-Swiss Emigrants in South Carolina, 1737. *Jour. Southern Hist.,* Feb.

M. L. CRIMMINS, ed. Colonel J. K. F. Mansfield's Report of the Inspection of the Department of Texas in 1856. *Southwestern Hist. Quar.,* Oct., Jan.

WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

Marcus Whitman, Crusader. Edited by ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT and DOROTHY PRINTUP HULBERT. Part II, *1839 to 1843.* [Overland to the Pacific.] (The Stewart Commission of Colorado College and the Denver Public Library, 1938, pp. xii,

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342, $5.00.) This volume evidently had the advantage of much critical attention from Dr. Hulbert himself. Mrs. Hulbert's meticulous editing puts it in practically perfect form. It brings the story of Marcus Whitman down to his return from the East in 1843, thus covering the much-mooted episode of his "winter ride". The book is in two parts, The Biography of Marcus Whitman, and Oregon Mission Correspondence. The subject matter of the second part has become familiar to students of the epoch and the episode, for the correspondence has all been printed before but not in any one place. The Hulbert book brings it all together, thoroughly organized and in a typographical form which delights the scholar. The biographical section gives us a thorough and convincing picture of Marcus Whitman as man and as missionary. When Edward Gaylord Bourne, nearly forty years ago, published his article entitled "The Whitman Myth", he challenged all writers on Whitman who relied on other than contemporary written sources. Discussion since that time has been on a more scientific plane, and no one has done more than Dr. Hulbert in carrying out the Bourne ideal. In consequence, he has written an unassailable account of that period in Whitman's life. The story moves with the inevitability of fate, wholly within the channels now finally established by complete and adequate contemporaneous evidence. This work is the best justification of the application of strict critical rules to historical investigation. When it is looked upon as the end result of more than a generation of controversial writing, most of which, being based on tradition, has now fallen into the limbo of forgotten things, it is a warning to the untrained to leave complicated historical questions alone.

JOSEPH SCHAFER.

Wah-to-yah and the Taos Trail. By LEWIS H. GARRARD. Edited by RALPH P. BIEBER. (Glendale, Arthur H. Clark, 1938, pp. 377, $6.00.) Garrard was a Cincinnati youth of excellent family (his great-grandfather was governor of Kentucky, and his stepfather was Justice John McLean of the United States Supreme Court) in whom the reading of Frémont's report of his Western expeditions implanted the desire to imitate that popular hero. In the summer of 1846, when Garrard was barely seventeen years old, he made his way to Westport, where he joined the annual trading caravan of Bent and St. Vrain and in its company traversed the Santa Fe Trail to Bent's Fort. It was the opening year of the Mexican War, and Garrard's adventures were varied and exciting. Before returning to his home he had his fill of Indian fighting. Garrard's narrative was published at Cincinnati and New York in 1850, when the author was still but twenty-one, and has ever since remained a classic of the Santa Fe Trail. As Volume VI of Professor Bieber's Southwest Historical series it now reappears in a form that would give keen delight to Garrard were he alive to witness it. The editorial introduction and annotations are painstaking and admirable (one misprint only has been observed—in footnote 80), but the absence of an index is to be regretted. It affords cold comfort to the user to be told that some time in the indefinite future an index to the entire series of twelve volumes (eleven of which he does not want) will be published. The precedent established in this respect by such works as Thwaites's *Early Western Travels* is a bad one and should be interred with the generation to which that eminent editor belonged. M. M. QUAIFE.

The Village at the End of the Road: A Chapter in Early Indiana Railroad History. By WYLIE J. DANIELS. (Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Society, 1938, pp. 112, 75 cents.) This work is almost exclusively a compilation of contemporary newspaper comments on railroad development in Indiana between 1845 and 1855 and particularly on the influence of this development on the growth of Indianapolis.

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It is concerned primarily with the Madison and Indianapolis Railroad, and an interesting chapter in transportation history is suggested by the description of the effect on the termini of this road of the completion of competing lines—Indianapolis profited while Madison declined. The copious use of newspaper quotations is intended to depict contemporary opinion accurately, but the amount of space devoted to such quotations seems excessive. JOHN B. RAE.

Adventure on Red River: Report on the Exploration of the Headwaters of the Red River. By CAPTAIN RANDOLPH B. MARCY and CAPTAIN G. B. MCCLELLAN. Edited and annotated by GRANT FOREMAN. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1938, pp. xxxi, 199, $2.50.) This journal of Captain Marcy was originally published in 1853 by the United States government as a part of the Marcy report on the exploration of the upper Red River country. Few journals of Western exploration have assembled so much valuable and interesting information alike for the naturalist, the geologist, the anthropologist, and the historian. Replete with accurate detail and written in a fascinating style, it is a veritable mine of data pertaining to the character and nature of the upper trans-Red River region —its general resources, soil, climate, natural history, and geography. Captain Marcy was a most observing and thoughtful student of the Indians of the country. In the editorial introduction Dr. Foreman has succeeded in giving the journal its proper setting and has pointed out adequately its importance as source material. The biographical sketch of Captain Marcy, though brief, is excellent. In short, this is a fine example of how a reprint ought to be edited.

JOHN PERRY PRITCHETT.

Wooster of the Middle West. By LUCY LILIAN NOTESTEIN. (New Haven, published for the College of Wooster by Yale University Press, 1937, pp. x, 333, $2.50.) This is the story of the College of Wooster, a Presbyterian institution in Ohio, from its beginnings "in the prayer of the Reverend James Reed, kneeling in 1865 in a grove that is now the campus". The history of this institution is here delightfully told by the daughter of Jonas O. Notestein, who was long connected with it. He himself worked on the story for a long time and at his death left four chapters briefly sketched. At this point his daughter took up the work and has produced a more detailed and elaborate account than her father had planned. Here one will find chatty reports of the various activities of the institution, its hardships in the early days, its period of expansion, "the golden age", and the rebuilding of the institution after a fire in 1901. The account of the rebuilding is an inspiring story—the heroic work of President Louis E. Holden and his manifold and energetic activities in the interest of the institution. Chapter XXII deals with "the new Wooster" and the work which was carried on there under the direction of President Charles F. Wishart. Interesting also is the account of the curriculum which appears here and there in the volume. A brief account of the early schools in Ohio and of the passage of the first free school law in that state is also given. Here is another useful contribution to the history of higher education in the United States. EDGAR W. KNIGHT.

Illinois as Lincoln knew it: A Boston Reporter's Record of a Trip in 1847. Edited by HARRY E. PRATT. Reprinted from *Papers in Illinois History and Transactions for the Year 1937,* for Members of the Abraham Lincoln Association. (Springfield, the Association, 1938, pp. 84.) This consists of letters written at Chicago and other places in Illinois by J. H. Buckingham, son of the founder and publisher of the *Boston Courier,* and published first in that journal.

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THEODORE PAULLIN. Manufacturing in the West, 1816-1836. *Southwestern Soc. Sci. Quar.*, Dec.

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Mrs. ROY BRIDWELL. Notes on one of the Early Ballard Families of Kentucky, including the Ballard Massacre. *Filson Club Hist. Quar.*, Jan.

JOHN WILSON TOWNSEND. A History of Kentucky Literature since 1913. *Ibid.*

F. GARVIN DAVENPORT. Culture versus Frontier in Tennessee, 1825-1850. *Jour. Southern Hist.*, Feb.

JOHN J. VOGEL. How Wyandot County was Born. *Hist. Soc. Northwestern Ohio Quar. Bull.*, Jan.

FRANK E. ROSS. The Fur Trade of the Ohio Valley. *Indiana Mag. Hist.*, Dec.

WILLIAM M. BALCH. The Education of Linton Usher. *Ibid.*

KATE L. GREGG. The War of 1812 on the Missouri Frontier, II. *Missouri Hist. Rev.*, Jan.

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DEBORAH ISAACS. Ante-Bellum Days in St. Louis. Missouri Hist. Soc., *Glimpses of the Past*, Oct.

NELSON V. RUSSELL. The Governmental Organization of Michigan, 1760-1787. *Michigan Hist. Mag.*, Winter.

WILLIAM R. RIDDELL. When Detroit was French. *Ibid.*

ARTHUR S. HILL. The Romance of a Railway. *Ibid.*

PAUL KERSCH. Feodor Protar: The Saint of Beaver Island. *Ibid.*

J. A. SWISHER. The First Territorial Assembly. *Palimpsest*, Feb.

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LILLIAN KRUEGER. Social Life in Wisconsin: Pre-Territorial through the Mid-Sixties. *Wisconsin Mag. Hist.*, Oct.

ROBERT K. RICHARDSON. The Non-Sectarian Clause in the Charter of Beloit College. *Ibid.*, Dec.

GERTRUDE W. ACKERMANN. George Northrup, Frontier Scout. *Minnesota Hist.*, Dec.

NORMAN W. CALDWELL. The Chickasaw Threat to French Control of the Mississippi in the 1740's. *Chron. Oklahoma*, Dec.

WILLIAM J. MELLOR. The Military Investigation of Colonel John M. Chivington following the Sand Creek Massacre. *Ibid.*

LOREN N. BROWN. The Choctaw-Chickasaw Court Citizens. *Ibid.*

ROSCOE E. HARPER. Homesteading in Northwestern Oklahoma. *Ibid.*, Sept.

M. URSULA. Sources for the Study of Oklahoma Catholic Missions: A Critical Bibliography. *Ibid.*

MARY LOYOLA. The American Occupation of New Mexico, 1821-1852. *New Mexico Hist. Rev.*, Jan.

FRANK D. REEVE. The Government and the Navaho, 1846-1858. *Ibid.*

MARION DARGAN. New Mexico's Fight for Statehood, 1895-1912. *Ibid.*

W. PATRICK DONNELLY. Catholic Giant of the Northwest [Dr. John McLoughlin]. *Hist. Bull.*, Jan.

E. D. SMITH, JR. Communication Pioneering in Oregon. *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, Dec.

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H. E. TOBIE. Joseph L. Meek: A Conspicuous Personality, III. *Ibid.*

CARL F. REUSS. The Pioneers of Lincoln County, Washington: A Study in Migration. *Pacific Northwest Quar.*, Jan.

ARTHUR S. BEARDSLEY. The Codes and Code Makers of Washington, 1889-1937. *Ibid.*

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JAMES A. PADGETT, ed. Some Letters of Isaac Shelby. *Reg. Kentucky State Hist. Soc.*, Jan.

Journal of Cyrus Sanders [December, 1838-January, 1845]. *Iowa Jour. Hist. and Pol.*, Jan.

BAYRD STILL and WILLIAM HERRMANN, eds. Abner Morse's Diary of Emigrant Travel. *Wisconsin Mag. Hist.*, Oct.

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C. C. RISTER, ed. Colonel A. W. Evans' Christmas Day Indian Fight (1868). *Chron. Oklahoma,* Sept.

J. MANUEL ESPINOSA, ed. Report Authorizing Governor Vargas to reconquer New Mexico. *New Mexico Hist. Rev.,* Jan.

LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY

W. S. Robertson

Manuscritos y publicaciones de Eugenio Larrabure y Unanue. Three volumes. (Lima, Imprenta Americana, 1934; 1935; 1936, pp. xiii, 598; xii, 692; 667.) These volumes contain the collected writings and public addresses of a distinguished Peruvian littérateur and publicist. Scion of a well-known family, Eugenio Larrabure y Unanue served as the president of the Instituto Histórico of Lima and vice president of Peru. These volumes owe their publication largely to the zeal of his son, Carlos Larrabure y Correa. Besides a miscellany of items on a wide variety of topics, Volume I contains studies of Juan de Arona, Antonio Canovas del Castillo, and D. J. Hipólito Unanue. Volumes II and III contain a large number of historical articles upon a wide variety of subjects more or less related to Peruvian history and archaeology, such as Incan chronology, prehistoric ruins in the province of Cañate, indigenous languages of Peru, poetry among the Incas, the population and the roads of pre-Columbian Peru, and an account of the debate which took place in 1885 between Eugenio Larrabure and Padre Cappa concerning Columbus and the discovery of America.

Educational Foundations of the Jesuits in Sixteenth-Century New Spain. By JEROME V. JACOBSEN. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1938, pp. xii, 292, $3.00.) This extremely interesting book by a member of the Society of Jesus turns the attention of its readers to an almost forgotten but important part of the amazing history of the Jesuits. Mexico, as this volume reveals, was one of the richest and one of the best-worked fields of Jesuit endeavor in many directions, particularly in that of education. The vast erudition of the Jesuits in New Spain included a purposeful knowledge of the native languages. This exemplified their generous attitude towards the Indians and their culture as well as towards their souls, which constituted one of the chief causes of the society's great success in Mexico. Men of the highest cultural attainments themselves, the Jesuits had a deep-seated humanity which enabled them to appreciate the good in all races and classes of the people among whom they labored. The manner in which Father Jacobsen has told the story is worthy of all praise. His book cannot be read, even by a non-Catholic, without profoundest respect and sympathy for the great society which has so often been maligned. The documentation and the bibliography of the volume are well nigh perfect.

PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS.

The International Economic Position of Argentina. By VERNON LOWELL PHELPS. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1938, pp. xv, 276, $3.00.) This is a very useful and illuminating study of Argentina's economic relationship with the outside world from the era immediately preceding the World War to the eve of her spectacular recovery from depression in 1936-37. The book is descriptive, statistical, and eschews searching analysis or generalization. After an introduction describing the background of the Argentine economy, three chapters trace the vicissitudes of Argentine international accounts as evidenced on the one hand by a history of the balance of payments and on the other by the movements of foreign exchange. Succeeding chapters deal in turn with the

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growth of foreign investments since 1914, trends and competitive factors in Argentina's foreign trade, her policy since 1933 of negotiating preferential exchange agreements with nations with which she has a favorable trade balance, and the possibilities of a reciprocal trade treaty with the United States. Chapter IV may be especially interesting to the lay reader as a discussion of the operations of the Argentine Exchange Control Commission, as is chapter VII for its analysis of the competitive elements in the trade of Great Britain and the United States with the southern republic. The volume is implemented with forty-two tables and charts besides eight statistical appendixes. There is a useful bibliography and an indifferent index. Distinction of form is perhaps not to be looked for in a Ph.D. thesis in economics. The book is written with special reference to the trade of the United States. The problem of achieving a reciprocity agreement with Argentina, the author admits, is a difficult one in view of the opposition of the farm bloc in this country and Argentina's present foreign commercial policy of "bilateralism". He believes, however, that a basis exists for tariff concessions which might be acceptable to the Argentine government.

CLARENCE HENRY HARING.

Nuevo León: Apuntes Históricos. By SANTIAGO ROEL. Two volumes. (Monterey, privately published, Escobedo 122, 1938, pp. iii, 168; 177, $2.00.) A history of the State of Nuevo León, Mexico, equipped with illustrations, plans, and an index.

Figuras y figurones: Con un estudio crítico de Rufino Blanco-Fombona sobre el autor. By M. GONZÁLEZ PRADA. (Paris, Tipografía de Louis Bellenaud et Fils, 1938, pp. 294.) Sketches of Manuel Pardo, Nicolas de Piérola, Eduardo L. de Romana, and José Pardo preceded by an appreciation of the author by Blanco-Fombona.

La tragedia de petróleo. (Mexico, Ediciones Ciceron, 1938, pp. 101.)

Las guerras de Bolívar. Volume IV, *La patria granadina.* By F. RIVAS VICUÑA. (Bogotá, Imprenta Nacional, 1938, pp. 641.) This installment of a detailed treatise on the military campaigns of Bolívar describes his part in the liberation of the viceroyalty of New Granada from Spanish rule and in the founding of "Great Colombia".

Translations from Hispanic Poets. (The Hispanic Society of America, 1938, pp. 271.) Besides translations from poets of Spain and Portugal, this volume prints translations from poets of ten Hispanic American countries.

Eighth International Conference of American States, Lima, Peru, December 9-27, 1938. Report of the Results of the Conference submitted to the Governing Board of the Pan American Union by the Director General (Washington, Pan American Union, 1939, pp. 108.)

Alamán estadista é historiador. By J. C. VALADÉS. (Mexico, Antigua Librería Robredo, José Porrua é Hijos, 1938, pp. xii, 576.) A full-length biography of a prominent Mexican publicist of the early national period.

Genaro Estrada. By G. FERNÁNDEZ MACGREGOR. (Mexico, Fabula, 1938, pp. 45.) An appreciation of the Mexican littérateur, Estrada, which was read to Mexican learned societies.

La corte de Maximiliano: Cartas de don Ignacio Algara que publica por primera vez con advertencia y notas. Edited by M. ROMERO DE TERREROS. (Mexico, Edi-

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torial Polis, 1938, pp. 77.) Letters written in 1864 and 1865 which describe the arrival in Mexico of Maximilian and Charlotte and their imperial court.

Historia política de la revolución. By M. ALESSIO ROBLES. (Mexico, Ediciones Botas, 1938, pp. 473.) A popular account of the Great Revolution in Mexico from 1911 to the downfall of Calles.

The Mexican Expropriation Law and Cases in which it has been Applied: English and Spanish Text. (Mexico, Editorial Polis, 1938, pp. 61.)

Centón Epistolario de Domingo del Monte. With a Preface and Notes by JOAQUÍN LLAVERÍAS Y MARTÍNEZ. Volume V, *1841-1843.* [Academia de la Historia de Cuba.] (Havana, Imprenta "El Siglo XX", 1938, pp. xiv, 202.) An installment of letters of a Cuban humanist who carried on an extensive correspondence with his contemporaries at home and abroad.

Martí en España: Discursos. [Academia de la Historia de Cuba.] (Havana, Imprenta "El Siglo XX", 1938, pp. 302.) Addresses which deal with the experiences in Spain of the Cuban patriot, José Martí.

Nariño: Su vida, sus infortunios, su talla histórica. Two volumes. By J. R. VEJARANO. (Bogotá, Editorial Santafé, pp. 939; xv, 412.) A detailed biography of the leading Colombian precursor of independence; contains a bibliography.

Estudios históricos y fisonomías colombianas. By L. GARCÍA ORTIZ. (Bogotá, Editorial A.B.C., 1938, pp. xv, 315.) Studies dealing mainly with the revolutionary period.

Bailes de Antaño: Conferencia leida en el foyer del teatro de Colón el día 14 de Octubre de 1938. By L. A. CUERVO. (Bogotá, Editorial A.B.C., 1938, pp. 47.) An account of dancing, with special attention to the revolutionary era.

Deutsche Heimat in Brasilien. By M. KAHLE. (Berlin, Grenze und Ausland, 1937, pp. 151, 2.70 M.)

González Prada. By L. A. SÁNCHEZ, *et al.* (New York, Instituto de las Españas en los Estados Unidos, 1938, pp. 53.) Six brief essays and a bibliography concerning the career, character, writings, and genius of this Peruvian poet.

Las invasiones inglesas del Río de la Plata (1806-1807) y la influencia inglesa en la independencia y organización de las provincias del Río de la Plata. By C. ROBERTS. (Buenos Aires, Jacobo Peuser, 1938, pp. xxviii, 458.) A detailed study of the English invasions of the viceroyalty of La Plata, based partly on investigations in English and Argentine archives. The volume is equipped with a bibliography and several maps.

El fundador de la biblioteca pública de Buenos Aires: Estudio histórico sobre la fundición y formación de la biblioteca pública en 1810 hasta su apertura en Marzo de 1812. By R. LEVENE. (Buenos Aires, Talleres Gráficos de la Penetenciaría Nacional de Buenos Aires, 1938, pp. 180.) The role of Mariano Moreno in the establishment of the national library at Buenos Aires, with an appendix of documents, some of which have not been published before.

Esteban Echeverría y su tiempo. By A. J. BUCICH. (Buenos Aires, Talleres Gráficos Virtus, 1938, pp. 102.) A collection of articles concerning the *Asociación de Mayo,* founded in 1837 by young Argentines headed by Echeverría. These essays pay considerable attention to the spirit of that age and to the liberalizing influence of members of that association.

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La Moda: Gacetín semanal de música, de poesía, de literatura, de costumbres, 1838. Edited by José A. Oria. (Buenos Aires, Guillermo Kraft, 1938, pp. 220.) The Junta de Historia y Numismática Americana, now styled the Academia Nacional de la Historia, has reproduced a very rare Argentine periodical which is accompanied by learned notes.

Urquiza en la instrucción pública. By A. Sagarna. Two parts. (Buenos Aires, 1936; 1937, pp. 23; 15.) Contains a summary of the steps taken by Urquiza to promote public education.

Homenaje al Capitán General Justo José de Urquiza, el organizador, el reductor, el pacificador, el americanista. By A. Sagarna. (Paraná, Imp. de la provincia, 1938, pp. 37.) A tribute to the work of Urquiza as a constructive statesman.

Filiación, Carácter y Permanencia del nacionalismo de Urquiza. By A. Sagarna. (Buenos Aires, 1938, pp. 31.) A documented biographical sketch of a founder of the Argentine republic.

El acuerdo de Flores. By A. Sagarna. (Buenos Aires, 1938, pp. 31.) A documented study of the steps leading to the signing on November 4, 1858, of the pact of San José de Flores between the province of Buenos Aires and the Argentine Confederation.

Argentine Meat and the British Market. By S. G. Hanson. (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1938, pp. 204, $3.50.)

Montevideo Antiguo. By Isidoro De María. Edited by Armando D. Pirotto. Two volumes. (Montevideo, Sociedad Amigos del Libro Rioplatense, 1938, pp. 178; 161.) A recent edition of an account of the city of Montevideo by a well-known historian of Uruguay which brings the story up to 1829.

Martí y la Conferencia Monetaria de 1891: Discursos. [Academia de la Historia de Cuba.] (Havana, Imprenta "El Siglo XX", 1938, pp. 75.) Addresses which discuss the participation of Martí, as the delegate of Uruguay, in the monetary conference which was held in Washington in 1891.

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E. Naranjo Martínez. El idioma español y el "Background" histórico español del continente en conexión con las relaciones interamericanas. *Hispania,* Dec.

E. Schäfer. Spaniens koloniale Warenausfuhr nach einer Preisliste des 16. Jahrhunderts. *Ibero-Am. Arch.,* Oct.

L. Hanke. A applicacão do requerimiento na America Hespanola, 1526-1600. *Rev. Brasil,* Sept.

R. Carrancá y Trujillo. El estatuto jurídico de los esclavos en los postrimerías de la colonización española. *Rev. Hist. Am.,* Sept.

A. Ponte. Bolívar y el mundo hispanoamericano. *Bol. Ac. Nac. Hist.,* July.

C. A. Vivanco. Cronología de la vida del Libertador. *Rev. Bolivarista,* Oct.

J. M. Restrepo and H. Unanue. Medallas bolivarianas. *Ibid.*

P. de Alba. Panamericanismo clarivadente y generoso de Bolívar. *Ibid.*

A. Urdaneta. Esgematología ó ensavo icongráfico de Bolívar. *Ibid.*

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R. Rivas. Bolívar internacionalista. *Bol. Hist. Antig.,* Sept.

L. A. Cuervo. Quesada y Bolívar. *Ibid.*

G. Robledo Arcita. Doctrinas franciscanas del Nuevo Reino de Granada. *Ibid.,* Nov.

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H. Portel Vila. Un esfuerzo panamericano en favor de la independencia de Cuba, 1872-1875. *Rev. Hist. Am.,* Sept.

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O. Grube. Otto Philippe Braun, Divisions-General der Heere von Peru und Bolivien, Gross-Marshall von Monte-Negro: Lebensbild eines Deutschen. *Ibero-Am. Arch.,* Oct.
D. Schons. The Influence of Góngora on Mexican Literature during the Seventeenth Century. *Hispanic Rev.,* Jan.
R. C. Ewing. The Pima Outbreak in November, 1751. *New Mexico Hist. Rev.,* Oct.
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S. Terrazas. Los primeros colonos de la hoy ciudad de Chihuahua y sus cercanías. *Ibid.*
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R. Stanton. Development of Xavier Icaza as Leader in the "Estridentista" School of Mexican Literature. *Hispania,* Dec.
G. Estrada. Nuevas notas de bibliografía mexicana. *Investigaciones Hist.,* Oct.
A. M. Carreño. Las primeras fundaciones y amonedaciones en México. *Ibid.*
E. E. Ríos. Indice geográfico de manuscritos que se conserve en la Biblioteca Nacional. *Ibid.*
H. Roemer. Die neue mexikanische Erdölpolitik. *Ibero-Am. Arch.,* Oct.
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E. Posada. Numismática colombiana. *Ibid.,* Nov.
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M. S. Sánchez. Incunables Venezolanos. *Bol. Ac. Nac. Hist.,* July.
G. Freyre. The Negro in Brazilian Culture and Society. *Quar. Jour. Inter-Am. Relations,* Jan.
M. Fleuiss. The Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute. *Bull. Pan Am. Union,* Oct.
H. W. D. Mayers. The Story of Iron and Steel in Brazil. *Ibid.*
L. Martínez Delgado. Apuntes sobre el Gran Mariscal de Ayacucho y sobre la identidad de sus restos. *Bol. Hist. Antig.,* Sept.
M. W. Nichols. Colonial Tucumán. *Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev.,* Nov.
J. Warshaw. The Instituto Cultural Argentine Norteamericano. *Hispania,* Dec.

Documents

J. T. Rebello, ed. Relación de meritos del dn. Juan Joseph de Eguiaray y Egueren. *Rev. Hist. Am.,* Sept.
Robert S. Chamberlain, ed. Two Unpublished Documents of Hernán Cortés and New Spain, 1519 and 1524. *Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev.,* Nov.
V. Lecuna, ed. Cartas del Libertador. *Bol. Ac. Nac. Hist.,* July.
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F. R. Almada, ed. Votos para la fundición de Chihuahua. *Bol. Soc. Chihuahuense Estudios Hist.,* Dec.
Cartas de Napoleón III, Eugenia, Maximiliano y Carlota. *Investigaciones Hist.,* Oct.
Arthur P. Whitaker, ed. Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa's Prologue to their Secret Report of 1749 on Peru. *Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev.,* Nov.

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HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The next annual meeting of the Association will be held in Washington, D. C. As authorized by the Association, the Executive Committee has selected New York City as the place for the annual meeting in December, 1940.

ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING

The annual business meeting of the Association was held on December 29 at the Stevens Hotel in Chicago. The customary action was taken with regard to the reports of the secretary and treasurer, the secretary read a list of the names of members who had died during the past year, and memorials to two former presidents of the Association, George Lincoln Burr and Laurence Marcellus Larson, were read by Andrew C. McLaughlin and Guy Stanton Ford, respectively.

On behalf of the Committee of Ten on Reorganization and Policy (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIII, 728, 965) the chairman, Professor John D. Hicks, made a preliminary report, and the committee, pursuant to its own request, was continued in existence for a year. The financial status of the Association, according to the committee, was better than had been predicted the year before and showed that the Association had a good chance of maintaining its present cash balance of about $5000. While convinced that the various expenditures of the Association were neither unreasonable nor excessive, the committee questioned the efficiency of the existing organization. "We have too many offices and perhaps too many officers. Undoubtedly the ideal solution would be to consolidate all our offices in Washington, where, according to the terms of our charter, our 'principal office' must be located." The committee urged strongly that the Executive Committee be made more definitely than now seems to be the case a subordinate body to the Executive Council. To this end it urged that members of the Executive Committee be chosen exclusively from the membership of the Council and also that at least one Council meeting be held well before the regular meeting of the Association in December. The committee voiced its objections to the proposed plan of dual nominations for the office of second vice-president; held that the formation of a new Pacific Coast Historical Society, if undertaken, would in no sense be regarded as a secession movement ("The American Historical Association will continue to be the national historical body in which American historians find membership essential, whatever their regional interests and affiliations."); urged that future

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meetings of the Association be held exclusively in large cities; and promised to investigate such criticism as might be brought to its attention. It expressly denied that it had formed a final judgment on any question. "What has been said merely indicates the present direction of our thought. If we have gone astray, it is your duty to set us right. We particularly solicit your opinions *in writing,* for verbal and oratorical efforts, while moving enough at the time, are easily forgotten." The committee will hold another meeting somewhere in the East next summer. Communications should be sent to the chairman, John D. Hicks, University of Wisconsin.

The following resolutions relative to a proposed new magazine of history and the creation of a new class of associate members of the Association (see below, p. 764) were presented on behalf of the Council:

1. That the Council endorse in principle the idea of a magazine of history to be controlled by the American Historical Association and to reach beyond the present clientele of the Association, and for the wider dissemination of historical knowledge in popular form.

2. That the Association, through the Council, exercise the right to make appointments to the board of editors of such projected magazine, and that the Editor-in-Chief be chosen by such Board.

3. That there be created an associate membership in the Association for subscribers to such projected magazine, without the right to vote.

4. That any contract which shall determine the relationship of such magazine to the Association be approved by the Council.

After a debate on the general principles and the means of implementing them, it was voted to postpone action on the resolutions until the next annual meeting. The critical vote, on a motion to postpone action on the first resolution, was 74 to 62.

The following amendments to the constitution and the by-laws of the Association, proposed by the Council, were unanimously adopted.

Article III of the constitution was amended to read as follows:

Any person approved by the Council may become an active member of the Association. Active membership shall date from the receipt by the treasurer of the first payment of dues, which shall be $5 a year or a single payment of $100 for life. Annual dues shall be payable at the beginning of the year to which they apply, and any member whose dues are in arrears for one year may, one month after the mailing of a notice of such delinquency to his last known address, be dropped from the rolls by vote of the Council or the Executive Committee. Members who have been so dropped may be reinstated at any time by the payment of one year's dues in advance. Only active members shall have the right to vote or to hold office in the Association.

Persons not resident in the United States may be elected by the Council as honorary or corresponding members, and such members shall be exempt from the payment of dues.

Pursuant to a resolution passed at the business meeting in December, 1937 (*Am. Hist. Rev.,* XLIII, 728), an amendment to the by-laws was adopted to make Section II read as follows:

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The president, first vice-president, second vice-president, secretary, and treasurer shall be elected in the following manner. The nominating committee at such convenient time prior to the 1st of September as it may determine shall invite each member of the Association to indicate his or her nominee for each of these offices. With these suggestions in mind it shall draw up a ballot of nominations which it shall mail to each member of the Association on or before the 1st of December, and which it shall distribute as the official ballot at the annual business meeting. It shall present to this meeting orally any other nominations for these offices petitioned for to the chairman of the committee at least one day before the business meeting and supported by the names of twenty voting members of the Association. The election shall be made from these nominations at the business meeting.

Elective members of the Council and members of the nominating committee shall be chosen as follows: The nominating committee shall present for each vacant membership on the Council and on the nominating committee two or more names, including the names of any persons who may be nominated by a petition carrying the signatures of twenty or more voting members of the Association. Nominations by petition must be in the hands of the chairman of the nominating committee by November 1st. The nominating committee shall present these nominations to the members of the Association in the ballot distributed by mail as described above. The members of the Association shall make their choice from among these nominations and return their ballots for counting not later than the 20th of December at 6 p. m. No vote received after that time shall be valid. The votes shall be counted and checked in such manner as the nominating committee shall prescribe, and shall then be sealed in a box and deposited in the Washington office of the Association, where they shall be kept for at least a year. The results of the election shall be announced at the annual business meeting. In case of a tie choice shall be made at the annual business meeting from among the candidates receiving the highest equal vote.

This amendment made no change in the method of electing the executive officers of the Association but merely in the method of electing members of the Council and of the nominating committee.

In order to bring the constitution into conformity with the foregoing amendment to the by-laws, Article V, Section II, sentence 1, relating to the election of members of the Council, was amended by substituting "in the manner provided in the By-Laws" for "at the annual meeting of the Association".

Section III of the by-laws was amended to read as follows:

The nominating committee shall consist of five members, each of whom shall serve a term of two years. In the 1939 election two new members shall be elected; in 1940, three; and this alternation shall continue thereafter, except in the case of elections to complete unexpired terms. If vacancies on the nominating committee occur between the time of the annual elections, the nominating committee shall fill them by direct ad interim appointments.

A motion was made looking to the holding of meetings of members of the Association interested in European history, resident in the Mississippi Valley, at the time of the annual meeting of the Association in the years when the Association does not meet in the West, such meetings to be held

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at central points in the Mississippi Valley. This proposal was referred to the Committee of Ten for recommendation.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY FOR 1937-38

The Executive Council of the Association held one meeting during the year, on December 27 at Chicago. The Executive Committee of the Council met three times during the year: March 6, October 1, November 13.

All of the activities of the Association hereafter to be noted are in general charge of the Executive Secretary, under the immediate direction of the Executive Committee and subject to the general control of the Executive Council.

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW. During the current year the *Review* has been edited by Professor Robert L. Schuyler from the editorial offices at 535 West 114th Street, New York City. The total cost of editing the *Review* amounted to $6600. The net cost of printing the *Review,* after deducting the contribution of the publishers to editorial expenses and the Association's share of profits of publication, amounted to $2171.91, making a total cost of $8771.91, or about $2.64 per member, a reduction of 17 cents per member from the corresponding figure last year. The explanation of this reduction lies chiefly in the fact that there was a very considerable increase (55 per cent) in the Association's share of the profits of publication, arising out of increase in circulation, increase in advertising, and decrease in the purchases of paper stock by reason of large purchases during the preceding year. The following paragraphs are quoted from the report of the Managing Editor:

> Volume XLIII of the *Review* (October, 1937-July, 1938) carried 1020 pages, including an annual index of 38 pages, as compared with 890 pages in Volume XLII. The total number of Articles, Notes and Suggestions, and Documents was 21, the same as in Volume XLII. The increase in the number of pages is explained by the marked increase in the number of books reviewed and noticed and the increase in the number of articles listed. Volume XLIII contains 261 reviews as against 241 in Volume XLII and 468 notices as against 249. That is to say, the reviews and notices totaled 729 as compared with 490 in Volume XLII, an increase of 49 per cent. The total number of articles listed was 2314 as compared with 1859 in Volume XLII, an increase of almost 25 per cent.
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> During the period covered by this report 111 Articles, Notes and Suggestions, and Documents were submitted, as compared with 84 during the preceding twelve months. Of these, 23 were accepted, 86 rejected, and 2 are still under consideration. It will be noted that the number of submissions was considerably larger in 1937-38 than in 1936-37. Twelve major articles were published, including the presidential address and the memoir of Dr. Jameson. The account of the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, which customarily appears in the April issue, was omitted because many of the papers presented were to be published in a separate volume. Of the articles, 3 were in the field of European history, 3 in American history, 1 each in Franco-American, Anglo-Spanish, and Near Eastern history, and 1 in Japanese historiography. There were 5 Notes and Suggestions,

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2 in European history, and 1 each in Anglo-American, Anglo-Caribbean, and Franco-American history. Four documents or collections of documents were published, 2 in American, 1 in Anglo-American, and 1 in European history.

The Ten Year Index, which is now in galley, should be ready for distribution by December 1. The Macmillan Company have advised me that the cost of publishing the Index will be covered by a subscription of about five hundred. As more than this number of individuals and libraries have indicated their desire to purchase the Index and as some additional subscriptions may be anticipated, it would seem that the publication of the Index will not reduce the profits payable to the Association by the Macmillan Company.

Social Education. During the current year *Social Education* has been edited by Professor Erling M. Hunt from the editorial offices, 204 Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University. The arrangements for publishing the magazine, with the co-operation of the National Council for the Social Studies and the American Book Company, were set forth at length in the report of the Executive Secretary for 1937. The following paragraphs are quoted from the report of the Executive Board of the magazine:

> *Social Education* has continued publication in accordance with the policies reported a year ago. It is directed mainly to teachers in secondary schools, with some attention, however, to teacher training and to the elementary school. The 692 pages of Volume I, including the nine issues of the calendar year 1937, were concerned with history, government and civics, economics, geography, sociology, and current affairs, and have touched on many aspects and various levels of education. The reviews reflect as wide an interest. In 1938 it has been possible to increase the amount of attention to European history, previously not adequately represented.
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> Both subscriptions and contributions indicate that *Social Education* is a national magazine, though the South and Southwest are somewhat under-represented.
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> The expenses of the editorial office, due to responsibility for advertising sales and some co-operation in promotion, rose somewhat during the year. The sale of advertising, however, increased even more as a result of the efforts of a part-time advertising assistant who has relieved the editor of some business responsibility.

The total number of subscribers to the magazine remains substantially what it was a year ago. There was an inevitable reaction from the intensive drive for subscribers which accompanied the launching of the magazine, but that loss has now been virtually recovered. The policy of shutting off subscriptions sharply at the date of expiration has come to be accepted by subscribers, who are co-operating increasingly in prompt renewals. The National Council for the Social Studies is now inaugurating a systematic program for increasing membership which will, it is anticipated, substantially increase the circulation.

The editorial costs of the magazine amounted to $8764.69, an increase of about $800 over the corresponding figure last year. Returns from advertising and from subscriptions amounted to $4456.29, making the net cost of the magazine about $4300. It will be recalled that this cost is borne

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out of special funds earmarked for the purpose and constitutes no charge upon the regular budget of the Association. At the end of the fiscal year 1937-38, there was a balance of $10,816.30 in this special fund, enough to carry on the magazine for, perhaps, three years. *Social Education* is now generally known and seems to have established itself firmly. It needs a good many more subscribers if it is to get upon a self-sustaining basis, but the prospects for the future are bright.

ANNUAL REPORT. The *Proceedings* of the A.H.A. for the year 1936 have appeared during the year in the *Annual Report* for 1936. *Writings on American History* for 1934 has also appeared. *Writings* for 1935 and *Proceedings* for 1937 are in second galley proof. Both of them will appear early in the year 1939. *Writings* for 1936 is in preparation. Dr. Mayo's *Instructions from the British Foreign Office to British Ministers in the United States, 1791-1812,* alluded to in the report of the Executive Secretary for 1937, is now nearly a year overdue, but Dr. Mayo promises definite delivery of the manuscript soon. Money is available from the appropriation of the Federal government for the publication of the volumes in preparation, with a sufficient balance to pay for the printing of *Proceedings* for 1938 and for the Mayo volume if it is ready in time.

WRITINGS ON AMERICAN HISTORY. The printing of *Writings* continues to absorb considerably more than half of the annual appropriation from the Federal government for printing. The committee in charge of *Writings* has, therefore, recommended to the Council that the scope of *Writings* be curtailed by the omission of Latin-American and Canadian items, and the Council has approved. It will be recalled that Dr. Lewis Hanke is publishing through the Harvard Press an annual bibliography of Latin-American items.

The Federal government provides funds for printing *Writings,* but the preparation of them for the press has to be separately financed. These editorial costs amount to approximately $2000 a year, which is raised by contributions from a number of historical societies, the Association contributing about one third. This arrangement involves an annual passing of the hat and places the whole enterprise, certainly one of the most important activities of the Association, on a more precarious footing than it ought to be. The committee appointed to supervise the publication of *Writings* was invited to explore the possibilities of raising a separate endowment for the purpose as a memorial to Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, but this matter has now been assigned to a special committee.

The Cumulative Index of *Writings,* being prepared by David M. Matteson and financed by a special grant from the American Council of Learned Societies, is progressing slowly. The editor is not yet prepared to promise when it will be completed.

ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE MEMORIAL FUND PUBLICATIONS. During the year

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the Committee has published the letters of James Gillespie Birney, edited by Dwight L. Dumond. The editorial expenses of this project were borne elsewhere, but publication costs were paid out of the Beveridge Fund. The Committee, whose publications heretofore have been confined to source material, is now planning to publish a series of monographs on American history. This series will be restricted to short books—not over 75,000 words in length—which will be significant contributions to American history and which will be written with distinction. The Committee has also undertaken to provide funds for an essay prize in American history, to be awarded biennially and to take the place of the Justin Winsor Prize, which is now maintained by the Association by private contributions from a group of its members and which will be discontinued. The new prize will be for $200, will be known as the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Prize, and will be awarded by a committee appointed by the Council for the purpose. The conditions governing the award of the prize will be the same as those of the Justin Winsor Prize, with the additional attraction that prize winning essays, if they appear to have sufficient merit, will be published by the Beveridge Fund Committee in its monograph series.

Littleton-Griswold Fund Publications. The Littleton-Griswold Committee has, during the year, undertaken to ascertain by personal inspection what colonial records seem to be particularly worthy of publication. The Secretary of the Committee has accordingly examined the state archives from Maine to Florida but has not yet presented his report for consideration. The Chairman of the Committee reports as follows:

> During the past year work has been nearly completed on Dr. Farrell's volume of "Reports of the Superior Court of Connecticut, 1772-73", which will be our next publication. It is hoped that the collaboration on this volume of Dean Charles E. Clark of the Yale School of Law will not be rendered impossible by his appointment as a member of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals of the Second Circuit. "The Minute Book of the Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions, 1684-1730", of Bucks County, Pennsylvania (to be supplemented by materials erroneously bound in a Sessions Docket of 1715-30), has been microfilmed, a typewritten transcript thereof is far advanced toward completion, and the editors, Mr. Sprogell and Mr. Fitzroy, have made considerable progress in their labors. Owing to various causes, less progress can be reported upon the New Jersey volume, "The Minutes of the Supreme Court of West New Jersey, 1681-1709". A second Connecticut volume is under consideration. It would contain the records of the Court of Assistants of Connecticut, 1665-71, and would be edited by Mr. Norbert Lacy, with some collaboration by a lawyer in the interpretation of the materials. It would have much the same special appeal to the bar that Mr. Farrell's volume will have.

Carnegie Revolving Fund Publications. The committee in charge of this Fund has undertaken to publish three volumes: H. I. Priestley's *France Overseas,* O. P. Chitwood's *Life of John Tyler,* and J. T. Horton's *Life of James Kent.* The first of these, which is now in press, was subsidized to the extent of $1000 by the University of California. The other two are

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being prepared for the printer. At the end of the fiscal year the balance standing to the credit of this Fund was $6814.55. The Chairman of the Committee writes as follows:

> Since a good share of this sum will be used up in the publication of these three volumes, and since receipts from sales are extremely meager (note receipts as follows: 1936, $1742.94; 1937, $1322.32; 1938, $883.69), it is obvious that for the future the Committee can accept only an occasional manuscript. It is our unanimous judgment, to quote one of my colleagues, that hereafter "publication by our Committee ought to be in the nature of an accolade—a recognition of really distinctive work."

Bibliography of American Travel. The plans of the committee in charge of this project, outlined in the report of the Executive Secretary for 1937, have, unfortunately, not been carried forward further because of lack of funds.

The Constitution Reconsidered. A large number of the papers read at the meeting of the Association in Philadelphia on the occasion of the sesquicentennial of the United States Constitution have been edited by the Executive Secretary and published under the title *The Constitution Reconsidered* by the Columbia University Press. All expenses of publication except editorial expenses have been borne by the Press, and provision has been made for a generous royalty to the Association. An advance of $500 against royalties has been made by the Press for editorial expenses.

Committee on Historical Source Materials. This Committee continues to play a very important part in co-operating with the Historical Records Survey, carried on under the direction of Dr. Luther Evans through nationwide relief projects of the Works Progress Administration. There can be no doubt at all that Dr. Evans and his associates are producing a survey of historical records in this country, both Federal and local, which will place at the command of students the most comprehensive guide of historical source materials available in any country in the world. Space does not serve to record the progress of this work. Members of the Association are urged to follow the reports of the Committee on Historical Source Materials as they are printed in the *Annual Report*. A few extracts from the report of the Chairman of the Committee for 1938 are quoted here.

> Work on the inventory of federal archives outside the District of Columbia was begun on January 1, 1936. . . . Archives of the field offices of the executive offices were first inventoried, and then work was undertaken on the archives of the independent agencies. By December 1, 1938, the work of preparing inventory reports upon the archives of the executive departments was virtually completed, though that on the archives of the independent agencies was not more than half done. . . . The first publication in this series is to contain reports on the administration of the survey, acknowledgments, and general discussions of location, condition, and content of the federal archives within a particular state. The succeeding publications in the series relate to the archives of the judiciary, to the archives of the executive departments (except the Department of State), and to the

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archives of other major units of the federal government. . . . By December 1, the editorial work on the series pertaining to the judiciary was 38 per cent completed, with 5 publications issued . . . work on the series pertaining to the executive departments (excepting the Department of State and the Post Office Department) was 43 per cent completed, with 64 publications issued. . . . Editorial work on the series pertaining to the independent agencies was just begun, with 15 publications issued.

Work on the inventory of state and local archives was begun . . . in the winter of 1935. Greatest progress has been made in the inventory of county archives. . . . By December 1, first drafts of such inventories had been prepared for 2031 counties, or approximately 66 per cent of the total . . . inventories had been issued for 146 counties, or approximately 5 per cent of the total. Certain of the published inventories are conspicuous for the excellence of the essays they contain on the historical background of the county governments, on their organization and records system, and on the housing, care, and accessibility of the records. Considerable progress has also been made on the inventorying of municipal and town archives. . . .

In addition to the work in public records, the Historical Records Survey has secured inventories of church records. By December 1, the records of 51,468 churches had been listed, or approximately 28 per cent of the total. . . .

Work on manuscript resources has not progressed as far as work on archival materials. At its meeting in December, 1936, the Committee on Historical Source Materials . . . suggested that the . . . Survey include in its program a preliminary survey of institutions in this country to determine the volume of manuscript material in their custody. . . . In accordance with this suggestion, the Historical Records Survey has secured information by submitting questionnaires to custodians of manuscript resources in various depositories. By December 1, questionnaires were returned from approximately 900 institutions. . . . While accurate estimates on the amount of work done on manuscript collections can not be made, plans have been developed for the inventorying of manuscript collections in most states.

The Committee on Historical Source Materials concludes:

1. that the work of inventorying the archival resources of the country is proceeding in a commendable manner, and that its continuance, through public appropriations for that purpose, should be ensured, and that, therefore, this work merits the endorsement which the Committee on Historical Source Materials has given it in a letter directed to the Honorable Harry Hopkins,
2. that the editorial work upon the inventory reports upon archival resources is proceeding apace, but that the publication of the results is lagging behind somewhat, and that, therefore, the Committee on Historical Source Materials might consider means to facilitate the publication of the results,
3. that the work of bringing the manuscript resources of the country under control has resulted in a preliminary survey of depositories, which is basic to the development of a long-range program of work upon manuscript collections as such, and that the actual work upon manuscript collections has just begun.

The Committee recommends that the Association consider the advisability of producing, on the basis of the work done by the Survey, a comprehensive guide, to be published by the Association. It also suggests that the co-operation of its members be invited in securing appraisals of manuscript collections utilized by them in their several researches.

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But the point upon which the Committee lays most stress is the desirability that American historical scholars should recognize the fundamental importance of the work being done by Dr. Evans and his associates, the high quality of the reports they have published, and the need of supporting their efforts in every possible way. Foundations have been laid for a comprehensive survey and appraisal of the enormous mass of historical material preserved in this country in public and private collections. Much has been done to impress upon public officials and private owners the importance of preserving this material and of making it accessible. The Amerian Historical Association, through its Committee on Historical Source Materials, has watched the progress of the H.R. Survey with a very critical eye. From an attitude of skepticism it has been converted to an attitude of complete endorsement, and it has been able to render to Dr. Evans and his associates much valuable service. The American Historical Association is in a position to speak on the subject, and to speak with authority, and it should raise its voice in no uncertain tones, not only in praise of what has already been done, but in emphasizing the importance of carrying the work forward indefinitely. The W.P.A. has made the venture possible, but the business of listing, arranging, preserving, and editing the manuscript material upon which the history of these United States must be based should be on a footing independent of work relief, and made a permanent and important part of the work of the Federal government.

Committee on Americana for College Libraries. The colleges participating in the so-called "McGregor Plan", which is administered by this Committee, are: Dartmouth, Mount Holyoke, Allegheny, William and Mary, Wake Forest, Emory University, Wesleyan College for Women, Florida State College for Women, Birmingham-Southern, Western Kentucky State Teachers College, Carleton, Albion, Baylor University, Pomona, Mills. The Chairman of this Committee writes as follows:

> In reviewing the work of the year, we may say that the colleges were so alert to this opportunity that practically every one had spent, or committed, its entire $1000 long before the first half of the year was completed. The job of your Committee is to get the books. As you know, we submit catalogues to the colleges, and the resulting duplications of orders keep us busy finding other copies of books which several colleges may have wanted.
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> Naturally we find the widest divergence among the colleges as to what constitutes "rare Americana" within the sense of their particular needs. We are helping build up a collection of rare Kentuckiana at Bowling Green, where a rare Kentucky imprint or an early edition of Daniel Boone means more than a 17th century New England tract, and may be even harder to get. Albion, Carleton, Baylor, Allegheny, Mount Holyoke, Dartmouth and others are inclined to accept the words "rare Americana" in their widest sense. Some of the colleges are really trying to specialize in books which will be useful to their communities as well as to their own students. All of these policies have merit, when we consider their

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individual wants, needs and aspirations. It is difficult for your Committee to lay down rigid rules of book selection for colleges so widely distributed, and therefore your Committee is being guided by the late Mr. McGregor's more general principle: "be helpful".

Funds for the operation of the Americana Plan are contributed by the Trustees of the McGregor Fund. At present their appropriation amounts to about $15,000 a year. Operating expenses for the calendar year 1938 showed an excess of income over expenditures of about $500. This surplus will probably enable us to add one more college to our list of participants.

COMMITTEE ON RADIO. The Director of the A.H.A. radio program reports as follows:

Early in 1938, the Educational Department of the National Broadcasting Company, of which Dr. James Rowland Angell is Educational Advisor, became very much interested in the work of the Radio Committee. The Keith Fund, which had been one of the benefactors of the experimental series in 1937, had made a new grant of $1000 to the Radio Committee. This grant was made on condition that it be met by sufficient funds to finance a series of at least ten talks. The National Broadcasting Company agreed to give free time on the air and to duplicate the grant of the Keith Fund at the rate of $100 a week for ten weeks. The Radio Committee felt, and Dr. Angell and Mr. Dunham of the N.B.C. agreed, that the broadcaster was a matter of great importance, that he should be chosen with great care and should be paid for the job. Various possible broadcasters were interviewed and tested for the new series. We were very fortunate in securing the services of Mr. Cesar Saerchinger as broadcaster of the talks. Mr. Saerchinger was at one time Berlin correspondent for the *New York Post*. He was for several years the European representative of the Columbia Broadcasting System. He combines with a knowledge of how to reach people, a broad cultural background and familiarity with international affairs, and an enthusiastic endorsement of the ideas and ideal of the Radio Committee. At the end of the ten broadcasts, which ran from March 4th to May 6th, the N.B.C. was anxious to do three more talks. Through the generosity of the Keith Fund, we were enabled to do them.

The talks in the series of March-May, 1938, were published by the Columbia University Press in *The Bulletin of the Story Behind the Headlines*. This *Bulletin* contained, in addition to the talk, a short critical bibliography on the subject of the talk, and a second article on some subject of general interest, either historical or current. The *Bulletin* was sold for ten cents a copy, and involved no charge upon the budget of the Committee.

The Story Behind the Headlines started its 1938-39 series with a grant from the Keith Fund sufficient to enable it to carry on for thirteen broadcasts. The National Broadcasting Company in addition to providing the time over the network, is providing two thirds of the money for the program. Shortly after the beginning of the series this fall, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace made a grant to the Radio Committee which will make it possible to continue the program, after the money from the Keith Fund is exhausted, through the season.

The Columbia University Press is again publishing the *Bulletin*, which is edited by the Director of the program at the Philadelphia office of the A.H.A., selling for ten cents a copy or $2 for twenty-six issues.

These radio talks are making an important contribution to the development of the radio as a medium for the transmission of popular education

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along sound lines. The Radio Committee has heretofore succeeded in financing its own operations without any charge upon the Association—thanks chiefly to the indefatigable efforts of Mrs. Evelyn Plummer Braun, Director. It is to be hoped that sooner or later this enterprise can be put upon a more stable basis, so that the energies of the Director may be confined to its educational aspects and not scattered in a constant effort to provide the necessary funds.

The attention of members of the Association is particularly directed to the *Bulletin,* and especially to the critical bibliographies which it prints upon the historical background of matters of immediate contemporary interests. These selected bibliographies are prepared by recognized experts and have proved to be of great value for teachers of modern history, both in schools and colleges, and for all those who are seeking guidance for sound reading in modern history.

The Union Library Catalogue of the Philadelphia Metropolitan Area. This project, sponsored by the A.H.A., is now a very important bibliographical agency for the Philadelphia metropolitan area. It not only provides a central point at which the library resources of the whole area can be consulted, but it is also doing much to develop a spirit of co-operation among Philadelphia libraries. Furthermore, the Philadelphia catalogue has become a model for the development of regional union catalogues throughout the country, and its director is coming to be recognized as one of the foremost experts in the world on all problems connected with cataloguing technique. A project is now on foot to develop a community research center in Philadelphia with the union catalogue as its nucleus, and a grant has been made by the Carnegie Corporation to finance the preparation of plans for such a center. This is an example of the sort of enterprise which the Association is in a position to promote and which is of incalculable value to historical scholarship.

Prizes Offered by the Association. Four prizes were available for award at the December meeting: the Jusserand Medal, the George Louis Beer Prize, the John H. Dunning Prize, and the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize. Three of these were awarded: the George Louis Beer Prize to René Albrecht-Carrié for his study, *Italy at the Paris Peace Conference* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1938); the John H. Dunning Prize to Robert A. East for his study, *Business Enterprise in the American Revolutionary Era* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1938); the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize to McCandless Wilson for his monograph, *French Foreign Policy during the Administration of Cardinal Fleury, 1726-1743: A Study in Diplomacy and Commercial Development.* The Jusserand Medal was not awarded, and by vote of the Council the practice of awarding it has been discontinued.

There has, on the whole, been a much more gratifying response to these

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prizes this year than heretofore. Five essays were submitted for the Beer Prize, ten for the Adams Prize, fourteen for the Dunning Prize. The Chairman of the Beer Prize Committee believes that the prizes should have greater publicity. The Chairman of the Adams Prize is much gratified at the large number and high quality of works submitted in competition. An excellent example of what may be done by the vigorous efforts of the chairman of a prize committee to give publicity to the prize is presented in the report of Dr. Kathleen Bruce, Chairman of the John H. Dunning Prize Committee. Miss Bruce writes as follows:

> On being informed by the Executive Secretary of the vote of the Executive Committee, and the necessity for quick action on the part of the Dunning Prize Committee, the Chairman of the Committee immediately set to work to do a thorough job in the way of giving the prize publicity. A mimeographed request to editors to print a notice of the change in the date of the award, the last date on which works might be submitted, and the address of the Chairman to whom competing works should be sent, was dispatched to the editors of 68 historical publications listed in the HANDBOOK of historical societies in the United States and Canada, these being all who seemed to have the facilities for printing such a notice. Essentially the same notice, accompanied by a personal letter, was sent as a news item to the editors of book reviews of 15 of the greater newspapers between the Atlantic and the Pacific. . . . Instructions entitled "Notice for the Governance of Competitors for the Dunning Prize of the American Historical Association", based on the standard regulations of the Association, were then prepared . . . and a copy dispatched, usually in the return mail, to each person who requested more information. In due course, the Chairman received 98 inquiries from 49 men and 49 women together representing 27 states, and the District of Columbia, which testifies to the generous response of the historical and newspaper editors in printing without charge the original notice sent out by the Chairman.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BRITISH HISTORY, 1714-89. The status of this enterprise was described in the report of the Executive Secretary for 1937. It will be recalled that Dr. Stanley Pargellis has assumed editorial responsibility for the work. His task has been that of editing material supplied by English contributors and of supplementing it when necessary. Dr. Pargellis writes as follows:

> I write to report progress on the Bibliography. . . . The sections on Military History, Political Theory, Historiography, and Education are nearly finished and ready for copying. Of these only the last was turned over to me in a shape fit to publish, and I have found few errors and made few changes in it. The first two had to be completely redone and the third is a new section, not included in the original bibliography. The section on Biography has been expanded into the form of a list of books to be consulted in running down information on obscure persons in the period. It should be one of the most useful sections in the book. The rather brief section on the reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission I have enlarged into a detailed list of materials arranged by those eighteenth century persons whose papers are described or calendared. Sections on colonial history, art, architecture, philosophy, and English literature I have been able to assign to competent people here.

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How soon this job will be finished I can not say. It moves slowly, and there seem to be few sections that can pass without careful checking and revision. I have this year two and perhaps three assistants who will have to be trained; the subvention voted by the Council of the Royal Historical Society, which Professor Bellot has sent on to me, should do little more than provide for clerical work.

In this connection it will be recalled that there is a plan afoot for a new edition of Dr. Charles Gross's *The Sources and Literature of English History . . . to about 1485*. The enterprise is sponsored by the Royal Historical Society in England, and by the American Council of Learned Societies, the Mediaeval Academy, and the American Historical Association in America. Professor William E. Lunt of Haverford College, one of our most distinguished medievalists and an old student of Dr. Gross, has been selected as editor.

International Committee of Historical Sciences. This year Mr. Waldo G. Leland, for many years the representative of the A.H.A. on the International Committee and one of its most vigorous and effective members, becomes its chairman. He writes as follows:

During 1938, the quinquennial International Congress of Historical Sciences was held in Zurich, August 28-September 4, and at the same time, as required by the Constitution, there was held the general assembly of the International Committee.

An account of the Congress which is published in abridged form in the January number of *The American Historical Review* is appended to this report, as is also an account of the general assembly of the Committee, and these appendices should be considered as the main part of my report.

In this section of the report I beg to deal chiefly with the participation of the American Historical Association in the work of the International Committee.

The International Committee of Historical Sciences was created chiefly through the initiative of the representatives of the American Historical Association in the Brussels Congress of 1923; a large share of its financial support has been secured through applications presented to the Rockefeller Foundation in the name of the Association; for the first eight years of the Committee's existence, I served as its treasurer, and its legal headquarters were during that time set up in Washington, near the headquarters of the Association.

It is not too much to say that without the initiative, interest, and support of the Association, the International Committee would not have been organized, or, if organized, it could have maintained itself only with the greatest difficulty.

At the present moment, more than ever the Committee needs the active interest of the Association. If the international organizations of scholars that have been formed since the World War are to be kept in activity and even in being during the period of extreme difficulty through which the world is passing, it will be only through the exercise of patience and forbearance, the avoidance of emotional explosions, and the achievement of mutual understanding. We must not forget that throughout the world, scholars, whatever their political views may be, are mostly men of good will, such as we like to think that we ourselves are, and we must not hold them responsible for situations and conditions over which they have little or no influence.

More than most, American scholars have a grave responsibility in these times to help maintain the intellectual balance of the world.

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One of the most effective ways in which we can meet our responsibility is by friendly and effective collaboration with our colleagues of other countries in useful undertakings, and our relation to the International Committee affords abundant opportunity for such co-operation.

In the first place I may assume that the Association desires to maintain its representation in the International Committee, and to contribute its financial support in the form of the annual dues, which are set at 250 Swiss francs, but which the larger countries have of late accepted to be of 300 francs. (The amount in sterling has not yet been determined.)

In the second place I beg to urge that the Association make a special effort to aid the publications of the International Committee to become self-supporting. This is particularly important in the case of the *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences* and the *Bulletin* of the *International Committee*.

The first of these is published annually, contains over 6000 items, selected by collaborating editors in different countries, and is an indispensable tool of research. The tenth volume, just published, covers the year 1936, and the lag is being gradually reduced. The price of the annual volume is at present $6.00 and in order for the bibliography to become self-supporting almost 1000 copies must be sold. Of this number at least 200 should be sold in the United States; the present distribution is *ca.* 80. It is recommended that a special effort be made in 1939, through personal solicitation, to persuade university and college libraries, and departments of history, to subscribe to the *Bibliography* and to purchase back numbers, which can be secured at a substantial reduction.

It is also recommended that the American editorial contribution of bibliographical items (historical works produced in the United States) be continued, at an annual cost of $200, of which I agree to be responsible for one half, expecting to secure it from another source.

The second publication, the *Bulletin,* is published quarterly. At present only *ca.* 20 subscriptions come from the United States. Here again a personal effort should be made to secure from 200 to 300 subscriptions from libraries, departments, and individuals. The price in 1939 will probably be less than $2. The contents of the *Bulletin* are miscellaneous; they include reports from the various Commissions (History Teaching, Iconography, History of Enlightened Despotism, History of the Press, etc.), the proceedings of the Committee, abstracts of papers read at the international congresses, and extended summaries of historical works in languages not generally read by the majority of Western scholars. A small committee has been appointed to plan the improvement of the *Bulletin*. I make no recommendation of direct financial support by the Association, but urge that the good offices of the Association be made available for the extension of the circulation in the United States.

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In this connection let me remark that several of these publications are due to American suggestion: the *Bibliography* was proposed by Dr. Jameson as was also the List of Diplomatic Representatives; the History of the Press was proposed by E. Malcolm Carroll of Duke University, while the History of Constitutions, of which two volumes have appeared, was proposed by myself.

Dr. Leland has expressed so well the significance of the work of the International Committee, not only as an instrument for the promotion of historical scholarship, but also—at this critical juncture in human affairs—for the promotion of international understanding and good will, that it

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would be gratuitous to add to it. The Council of the Association has taken action in accordance with Dr. Leland's concrete suggestions and recommends to the membership at large their personal co-operation in promoting the objectives and the other activities of the Committee.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS [1]

A NEW MAGAZINE OF HISTORY. For some years the Executive Committee of the Council has been interesting itself in the development of plans for the establishment of a magazine of history which should be non-professional in character and should aim at the wide dissemination of sound history in popular form to the public at large. In the spring of 1938 a self-constituted committee of historians in and about New York City, at least three of whom were prominent members of the Association, undertook to formulate plans for such a magazine. They drew up a concrete proposal for the consideration of the Executive Committee in the early summer. So far as the Association was involved, they asked the Association to assume control over the personnel of the board of editors of the new magazine, and to create for the benefit of subscribers to the new magazine an associate membership in the Association without voting power. They proposed to relieve the Association of all financial responsibility, and to raise $300,000 for financing the venture. The terms of this plan were considered carefully by the Executive Committee at two separate meetings and were finally approved by the Executive Committee by a vote of five to one, Mr. Merk dissenting. The plan was then referred to the Council, and the Council, by a close vote, also approved it. It was then laid before the Association at the Annual Meeting in the form of resolutions, the first of which invited the Association to endorse in principle the idea of a popular magazine, to be controlled by the Association. The second invited the Association to assume control over the personnel of the board of editors of the new magazine; and the third asked for an amendment to the Constitution which would make possible the creation of associate membership without voting power. Debate in the Annual Meeting was confined to the general resolution inviting the endorsement of the principle. By a close vote this resolution was tabled and, therefore, the whole proposal, so far as the Association is involved, was shelved for at least a year.

MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE. The Chairman of the Membership Committee writes as follows:

> No formal Membership Committee was made up by the Chairman as it was thought better to use a changing group from year to year. With the valuable assistance of the previous Chairman of this Committee, R. C. Miller of Wayne University, the entire problem of membership maintenance in the Association was considered last winter and spring. Especially valuable was an April conference at Indianapolis where the problem was discussed at length by the Treasurer of the

[1] This section of the report has been omitted because the amendments have been dealt with in the account of the annual business meeting given above.—ED.

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Association, Solon J. Buck, Mr. Miller, and myself. At least partly as a result of this meeting several fundamental changes were made in our system of maintaining our membership.

Most important of these was the new policy inaugurated by the Treasurer of dealing with members who have become delinquent by non-payment of dues. The new system replaces the older, formal notices to such delinquents, with well-phrased, signed letters from the Treasurer, and where that is ineffective with a similar "follow-up" letter that, while entirely dignified, gives every indication of being more effective in securing renewals. The importance of this new procedure will be appreciated when it is understood that the annual loss of members has been so large in the past that the Membership Committee has been like the character in Alice in Wonderland—it has had to run as fast as it could in order to stay in the same place.

A change was also made in the system of treating new members. Under the older system a young scholar who felt he had arrived at the period of affluence where he could at least afford to join the Association might be surprised, if he sent in his membership near the end of the year, to receive immediately the three back numbers of the *Review* for that year, and within three months the current number, together with a bill for his next year's dues. It seemed clear that this practice had created considerable bad feeling toward the Association in the past and accounted in part for the high rate of membership loss. The new policy permits memberships to begin with any quarter and entails some extra work upon the office of the Treasurer.

A third innovation was to inaugurate a system of deferred dues payments for our spring recruiting campaign. This applies almost entirely to securing memberships from graduating students who sometimes find the dues a serious drain at that time. Actually the change is merely one of encouraging the prospective member to indicate his intention to join, with the statement that he will be billed for his dues in the autumn. Actually he does not become a member or receive his copy of the *Review* until his dues are paid. It is thought that this procedure will have a favorable effect in stimulating new memberships.

A campaign for new members was instituted in all the important centers of graduate instruction last spring. In a few cases this was started too late to be of maximum effectiveness, usually because of delay caused by the difficulty of finding a staff member to undertake the work. In most cases someone went out of his or her way to call graduate students' attention to the desirability of membership and to place in their hands copies of the new folders on the work of the Association. The results were uneven from institution to institution, chiefly because of differences in the enthusiasm of the staff members who undertook the task.

The previous Committee on Membership made its largest campaign in 1937, and consequently it seemed wise not to make a nation-wide campaign in 1938. Instead it was decided to confine the campaign to the area from which the Chicago meeting will draw extensive attendance. Later Michigan and Tennessee were eliminated from the area because of the thorough campaign in those states last year.

Data for gains and losses in membership for the full year ending November 30, 1938, reveals a gross gain in membership of 414, as compared with a gross gain of 389 for a twelve-month period last year. The net gain for the year was 188, as compared with 152 for the twelve months previous. The geographical distribution of members is as follows: Atlantic Seaboard, 1838; Mississippi Valley, 1197; Pacific Coast, 284; dependencies, 3; other

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countries, 104. The year's increase in members was chiefly in the following states: New York (52), Illinois (47), District of Columbia (42), Pennsylvania (37), Mississippi (23), Ohio (19), California (18), Indiana (16), Wisconsin (15), Michigan (11), Connecticut (10). In all other states, there were less than 10 new members, with no new ones at all in ten states: 6 west of the Rockies, 3 in the Mississippi Valley, and 1 on the Atlantic Seaboard. As compared with the last five years, the net gain this year is very gratifying. In general, we have added new members at the rate of about 10 per cent a year, but we are still losing too many old members, and too many of our members are still behind in the payment of their dues.

THE FINANCES OF THE ASSOCIATION. The report of the Board of Trustees, distributed with the report of the Treasurer at the Annual Meeting, reveals the fact that the net result of the year's management of the investments of the Association has been a decrease in the market value of the securities held by the Association from $239,530.36 to $214,182.25, a decrease of about 10½ per cent, while the income from investments has decreased from $9896 to $8069, a decrease of over 18 per cent. This striking decrease both in principal and in income reflects, of course, the general decline in security values and a very considerable decrease in dividend payments. The marked recovery in security values since August 31, 1938, would make an inventory of securities today considerably higher.

The Chairman of the Board writes: "The Board of Trustees regards the portfolio as an exceptionally strong one, and though it realized the importance of a good return on investments, its chief objective is and will remain security of principal."

The charges made by the Fiduciary Trust Company for the management of securities amounted during the fiscal year to $946.68; the brokerage charges on purchases and sales of securities amounted to $95.20. The Board of Trustees itself filed no expense account.

A detailed statement of the operating finances of the Association at the end of the fiscal year is presented in the Treasurer's Report, which was distributed to the members of the Association at the Annual Meeting. Operating expenses for the fiscal year were less by $155.02 than had been estimated in the budget. Operating receipts exceeded estimates by $2372, the important items of increase being in receipts from membership fees and receipts from registration fees. The net result was that the A.H.A. for the first time in five years spent less than it received and its budget is in balance. This illustrates the futility of prophecy. The Executive Secretary in his report last year declared we were certainly not yet in sight of a balanced budget. The Finance Committee prophesied last year that we should have exhausted all our reserve of income and be actually in the red by 1940. They have now changed their tune and prophesy that we shall be over $2000 to the good in that year. But in any case we are perilously near the Plimsoll mark.

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We must increase our income or else we can not expand our activities as we should in the nature of things do. Our income from endowment is not likely to show any marked increase unless we increase our endowment. Our income from dues is our most promising source of increasing revenues. Once again we must stress every effort to get new members and to hold fast to our old members. In this connection, we must never forget that the best of all possible ways to increase the number of our supporters is to enlarge the scope of our activities and increase our usefulness.

CONYERS READ, *Executive Secretary.*

THE OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR 1939

President: William Scott Ferguson, Harvard University.

First Vice-President: Max Farrand, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California.

Second Vice-President: James Westfall Thompson, University of California, Berkeley.

Secretary: Dexter Perkins, University of Rochester.

Executive Secretary: Conyers Read, 226 South 16th St., Philadelphia.

Treasurer: Solon J. Buck, The National Archives, Washington, D. C.

Assistant Secretary-Treasurer: Patty W. Washington, 740 Fifteenth St., N. W., Washington, D. C.

Editor of the Annual Report: Lowell Joseph Ragatz, George Washington University.

Council: (ex officio) the president, vice-presidents, secretary, and treasurer; (former presidents) Albert Bushnell Hart, Andrew C. McLaughlin, Worthington C. Ford, Edward P. Cheyney, Charles M. Andrews, Henry Osborn Taylor, Evarts B. Greene, Carl Becker, Herbert E. Bolton, Charles A. Beard, William E. Dodd, Michael I. Rostovtzeff, Charles H. McIlwain, Guy Stanton Ford, Frederic L. Paxson; (elected members) Bessie L. Pierce, Frederick Merk, Carl Wittke, Isaac J. Cox, Eugene C. Barker, Laurence B. Packard, R. J. Kerner, Allan Nevins.

Executive Committee of the Council: Laurence B. Packard, Amherst College, chairman; Frederick Merk, Allan Nevins, Bessie L. Pierce; (ex officio) Solon J. Buck, Dexter Perkins.

Council Committee on Appointments: Bessie L. Pierce, University of Chicago, chairman; Carl Wittke; (ex officio) Dexter Perkins, Conyers Read.

Board of Trustees: Shepard Morgan, Chase National Bank, New York City, chairman; W. Randolph Burgess, Leon Fraser, Stanton Griffis, Thomas I. Parkinson.

Committee on Publication Policy: Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; John D. Hicks, Dumas Malone, Francis S. Philbrick, Conyers Read.

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Standing Committee on Government Publications: Samuel Flagg Bemis, Yale University, chairman; Homer C. Hockett, J. Fred Rippy.

The Pacific Coast Branch: President, Henry S. Lucas, University of Washington; Vice-President, Ralph H. Lutz, Stanford University; Secretary-Treasurer, Francis H. Herrick, Mills College; *Council,* the above officers and David K. Bjork, Donald Rowland, James Westfall Thompson, Harold C. Vedeler; Managing Editor of the *Pacific Historical Review,* Louis Knott Koontz.

Committee on Program for the Fifty-fourth Annual Meeting: Eugene N. Anderson, American University, chairman; Viola F. Barnes, Merle E. Curti, Walter L. Dorn, Paul Lewinson, William F. McDonald, John Patterson, Carlton C. Qualey, Ralph Turner; (ex officio) W. S. Ferguson, Dorothy C. Barck, Dexter Perkins, O. C. Stine.

Committee on Local Arrangements: E. L. Kayser, George Washington University, chairman.

Committee on Nominations: Kent R. Greenfield, The Johns Hopkins University, chairman; Frank L. Owsley, Howard K. Beale, Curtis P. Nettels, Judith Blow Williams.

The American Historical Review: Managing Editor, Robert Livingston Schuyler, 535 West 114th Street, New York City; Assistant Editor, Eleanor D. Smith; Board of Editors, Arthur E. R. Boak, William L. Langer, Dumas Malone, Nellie Neilson, Dexter Perkins, Preserved Smith.

Social Education: Editor, Erling M. Hunt, 204 Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University; Assistant Editor, Katharine Elizabeth Crane; Executive Board, Harold F. Clark, Columbia University, chairman; Conyers Read, secretary; Charles A. Beard, Ronald Beasley, Erling M. Hunt, A. K. King, James I. Michener, Edwin H. Reeder, Ruth Wanger, Edgar B. Wesley, Louis Wirth, (ex officio) Howard E. Wilson.

Committee on Membership: Elmer Ellis, University of Missouri, chairman, with power to appoint his associates.

Committees on Prizes: George Louis Beer Prize, Alfred Vagts, Sherman, Gaylordsville P. O., Connecticut, chairman; David Harris, Lawrence D. Steefel. *John H. Dunning Prize,* Viola F. Barnes, Mount Holyoke College, chairman; Paul H. Buck, Philip Davidson, jr. *Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Prize,* Caroline F. Ware, American University, chairman; Henry S. Commager, Colin B. Goodykoontz.

Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund for Publications: John D. Hicks, University of Wisconsin, chairman; Verner W. Crane, Frances E. Gillespie, Kent R. Greenfield, Jakob A. O. Larsen, Edward Whitney.

Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund: Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Merle E. Curti, Julius W. Pratt.

Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund: Francis S. Philbrick, Univer-

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sity of Pennsylvania, chairman; Carroll T. Bond, John Dickinson, Walton H. Hamilton, Leonard W. Labaree, Richard B. Morris, Thomas I. Parkinson.

Committee on Historical Source Materials: Herbert A. Kellar, McCormick Historical Association, chairman. *Special Committees: Archives,* Margaret C. Norton, Illinois State Library, chairman; *Manuscripts,* Julian P. Boyd, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, chairman; *Newspapers,* Robert C. Binkley, Western Reserve University, chairman; *Business Records,* Oliver M. Dickerson, Colorado State Teachers College, chairman; *Library Holdings,* Douglas C. McMurtrie, American Imprints Survey, Evanston, chairman; *Research Associate,* Everett E. Edwards, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Conference of Historical Societies: C. C. Crittenden, North Carolina Historical Commission, chairman; Dorothy C. Barck, New York Historical Society, 170 Central Park West, New York City, secretary.

Committee on Publication of the Annual Report: Leo F. Stock, 1017 Michigan Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C., chairman; Solon J. Buck, Lowell Joseph Ragatz, St. George L. Sioussat.

Committee on Writings on American History: Leo F. Stock, 1017 Michigan Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C., chairman; Samuel Flagg Bemis, Solon J. Buck, St. George L. Sioussat.

Committee on the Bibliography of American Travel: Frank Monaghan, Yale University, chairman; Julian P. Boyd, Harry M. Lydenberg.

Committee on Radio: Conyers Read, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Phillips Bradley, Evelyn Plummer Braun, Stephen Duggan, Felix Greene, John A. Krout, Walter C. Langsam, Charles G. Proffitt, Ralph S. Rounds, Cesar Saerchinger, Raymond Gram Swing, Elizabeth Y. Webb.

Committee on Americana for College Libraries: Randolph G. Adams, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, chairman; Arthur S. Aiton, Thomas W. Streeter, Kathryn L. Slagle, Julian P. Boyd, Conyers Read, Lawrence C. Wroth.

Jameson Memorial Fund Committee: Waldo G. Leland, American Council of Learned Societies, chairman; Max Farrand, Dwight Whitney Morrow, jr.

Representatives of the Association in Allied Bodies: American Council of Learned Societies, Wallace Notestein. *International Committee of Historical Sciences,* Waldo G. Leland, J. T. Shotwell. *Social Science Research Council,* Roy F. Nichols.

The Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Prize has been substituted for the Justin Winsor Prize. It will be awarded biennially, beginning this year, for a monograph, either in manuscript or in print, in the field of American history, including South American history. The amount of the prize is

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$200. All manuscripts should be sent to Caroline F. Ware, The American University, prior to June 1. Since the date for submission formerly announced was September 1, the committee will entertain requests up to June 1 for the privilege of submitting manuscripts up to September 1.

The following should be added to the *List of Research Projects in History, exclusive of Doctoral Dissertations,* published as a supplement to Volume XXXIX, No. 3, of the *American Historical Review:*

IV. Modern Europe

The European background and the causes of the struggle between the French and German nations culminating in 1866-1871. Prog. 2 vols. Chester W. Clark, *Cambridge, Massachusetts.*

The Prussian-Austrian newspaper war of 1868-69. Prog. 20 pp. *Id.*

Bismarck and Russia, 1864-1871. Prog. 20 pp. *Id.*

The European reaction to Prussian expansion, 1866. Prog. 20 pp. *Id.*

VIII. Germany

Bismarck's technique in manipulating public opinion. Prog. 100 pp. *Id.*

XVIII. United States of America

(7) Before 1782

The Articles of Confederation, 1774-1781. Fin. 150 pp. Merrill Jensen, *University of Washington.*

(8) Since 1782

A history of the United States during the Confederation period, 1781-1789. Prog. *Id.*

Waldo G. Leland, delegate of the American Historical Association on the International Committee of Historical Sciences and president of that committee, reports that an organization in Paris styling itself Conseil historique et heraldique de France is notifying American scholars of their nomination as "honorary corresponding members" and is inviting them to submit copies of their publications to its "reading committee", which is empowered to grant the title of "laureate" and to confer appropriate medals. It is recommended that persons receiving such communications, if they wish to have further information respecting the organization in question, communicate with Mr. Leland, who may be addressed in care of the American Historical Association.

OTHER HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following may be noted: photostat of journal of assembly held at "St. Maries", Maryland, Apr. 21, 1649; C. A. Browne Collection of

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seventy-nine miscellaneous pieces, including items relating to American History, 1770 to 1915; papers of William B. Randolph, 1774 to 1869; facsimile of letter of John Hancock, June 21, 1775; additional photostats of letters of George Washington; papers of Nicholas Low; additional papers of the Rumsey family of Bohemia Manor, Cecil County, Maryland, 1799 to 1830; film of diary of Anson Greene Phelps, 1806 to 1853; indenture of apprenticeship of William Thomas Prout, County of Kent, England, May 1, 1841; papers of the Spanish and American Claims Commission and the French and American Claims Commission, 1842 to 1908; typewritten copy of diary of Oscar Smith, United States Marine Corps, 1861-62; joint resolution of thanks, by the Senate and House of Representatives, Confederate States of America, for victory at Shiloh, Tennessee, dated Apr. 15, 1862; papers of William Lee Trenholm, 1865 to 1931; additional papers of Justin Smith Morrill; one paper of the Independent Republican Executive Committee, 1879; additional papers and copies of papers of President Benjamin Harrison; additional papers of Philippe Bunau-Varilla.

Important bodies of records relating to the national defense and wartime history of the United States have recently come into the National Archives. Outstanding are records from the Adjutant General's Office, which include additional records of the Secretary of War to 1913; correspondence of the Adjutant General's Office proper to 1861; records of the Signal Corps, 1860-1901; and records of the Confederate States, 1861-65, including military records and records of Congress and of the War, Treasury, and Post Office departments that were seized at the close of the Civil War. From the Navy Department have been received records of the Bureau of Construction and Repair, including many ship tracings, 1830-1925; of the Naval Districts Division, relating to wartime use and subsequent disposal of private vessels, 1917-37; and of the Naval Aircraft Factory at Philadelphia, 1918-35. The Treasury Department has transferred records of the Southern Claims Commission, 1871-80, and of the Inter-Allied Purchasing Commission, 1917-19. Other records of World War interest, recently received, include files of the Fir Production Board, 1917-19; of the War Transactions Section of the Justice Department, 1917-39; and of the Bureau of Mines, 1917-20. Other accessions include: applications and recommendations for appointments, 1797-1901, and accounting records, 1785-1906, from the State Department; correspondence and alien residence registration papers from the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1906-34; correspondence and meteorological records of the Weather Bureau and earlier agencies carrying on similar work, 1819-1912; and records of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and antecedent agencies, 1915-37, of the discontinued Bureau of the Mint assay office at Helena, Montana, 1877-1933, of the Commissioners for the District of Columbia, 1791-1802, of the Office of Public Buildings and Grounds and

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its antecedent agencies, 1802-1907, of the Bituminous Coal Commission of 1920, and of the Federal Fuel Distributor, 1922-23.

President Roosevelt on December 10, 1938, after consultation with a score of writers, scholars, and librarians, announced a plan for the erection of a building on the grounds of his family estate at Hyde Park, New York, to house his papers, official and personal, that have accumulated since 1910; his collections of manuscripts on the early history of the United States Navy and on the history of his family and of Dutchess County; his collection of paintings, drawings, prints, and models of American ships; and the bulk of his library, which is especially rich in books on naval subjects and in books written by his contemporaries. The President stated that when the building is erected the title to it and to the collections to be placed therein would be vested immediately upon acceptance by Congress in the Federal government and placed under the administration of the Archivist of the United States. By the end of December the plan for the projected repository had so far progressed that the "Franklin D. Roosevelt Library" had been incorporated under the laws of the State of New York with five trustees, who are empowered to raise and expend the funds necessary to realize the plan as soon as possible. An executive committee, of which Waldo G. Leland is chairman, has been appointed by the President to work out the details of the plan.

Some recent accessions to the Seligman Library at Columbia University will be of interest to students of French economic history: (1) a three-volume collection of MSS. of John Law containing some fifty-odd writings by Law, among them several hitherto unknown, one of which clears up the mystery of his whereabouts between 1703 and 1710; (2) a unique three-volume MS. work by Dupin (being a rewriting of his very rare *Observations on the Spirit of the Laws*) which he did not live to publish; (3) two hitherto unknown letters of Turgot on the reform of the *taille*, 1762; (4) the only known copy of minutes sent to the controller of finance by the parlement of Provence in 1763, in fifteen folio volumes and containing the fullest discussion of the French revenues in existence; (5) a number of items from the library collected by Lomenie de Brienne, among them several pamphlets on the estates general of 1614 and 1789.

A unit of the Historical Records Survey under the direction of Clifford L. Lord of the department of history of Columbia University has nearly completed work on *The Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1897-1937*. It is to be published in the near future and will supplement the well-known compilation by James D. Richardson.

An undergraduate curriculum in medieval studies has been announced by Stanford University. Its object is to give the student a well-rounded

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knowledge of medieval life in all its phases, to enable him "to saturate himself temporarily in the standard of values and judgments commonly accepted by a great past culture, thus freeing his mind from current clichés and presuppositions and enabling him to see the world around him from the outside rather than from the inside alone". Several other departments of the university will collaborate with the department of history in offering courses in the new curriculum. Somewhat similar in purpose though less extensive in scope is a new course in medieval studies to be given at Barnard College next year, in which, as in the new Stanford curriculum, several departments will co-operate. Further educational interest in the Middle Ages is evidenced by the announcement of an Institute on Medieval Culture, to be held at the University of Chicago from June 28 to August 1 in conjunction with the university's summer quarter, which will consist of lectures by eminent authorities on various subjects in medieval life.

The Quarterly Journal of Inter-American Relations will include articles and book reviews in the fields of inter-American history, sociology, economics, and literary criticism. Among the historians who contributed to its first issue, which appeared in January, are Clarence Haring, Samuel Flagg Bemis, and J. Bartlet Brebner. It is planned to inaugurate in a subsequent issue a section devoted to an interpretative digest of Latin-American and Canadian editorial comment on important topics. Frank P. Davidson, 41 Holden Street, Cambridge, is managing editor. The annual subscription price is $1.50.

The first issue of another new quarterly, *Jewish Social Studies,* has come to our desk. This journal will be devoted to contemporary and historical aspects of Jewish life. Salo W. Baron, Morris R. Cohen, and Hans Kohn are the editors. Communications should be addressed to the managing editor, Koppel S. Pinson, 55 Fifth Avenue, New York City. The annual subscription price is $4.00.

The Historian is a new periodical published semi-annually by the national historical honorary fraternity, Phi Alpha Theta, under the editorship of Professor George P. Hammond of the University of New Mexico. It is intended as a medium for the publication of articles by members of the fraternity. The annual subscription price is $1.00.

The issue of November 30, 1938, no. 54, concludes the tenth volume of the *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale.* This contains the index for Volume X and also cumulative indexes for Volumes I to X (1929-1938). This issue definitely marks the end of an epoch for this periodical. The Librairie Armand Colin will no longer act as publishers, and with the issue of January, 1939, the journal assumed the title *Annales d'histoire sociale.*

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The new *Annales* is edited by Professors Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre, and Professor Paul Leuilliot is editorial secretary. It is to appear four times a year.

PERSONAL

The French historical gild has lost an important figure in Paul Matter, who died last year. In the midst of an active life that was devoted primarily to law and politics, Matter found time to publish two impressive three-volume historical works: *Bismarck et son temps* (1905-1908) and *Cavour et l'unité italienne* (1925-27).

After a brief illness James Wilford Garner died at Urbana on December 9. Born in Pike County, Mississippi, in 1871, he derived from his native state not only his early education but also those less tangible influences which went to produce a delightful Southern personality. Though his activities were mainly in political science, especially in international law in which he was an outstanding leader, some of his significant labors give him a place in the historical gild, whose values and techniques, soundly acquired in early years, were later to find application in other fields. Among his historical contributions may be mentioned *Reconstruction in Mississippi* (1901), a Dunning inspired Columbia dissertation; *History of the United States,* with Henry Cabot Lodge (4 vols., 1906), a popular work by very dissimilar collaborators; *International Law and the World War* (2 vols., 1920); *American Foreign Policies* (1927); and *Essays on Southern History and Politics* (1914), of which he was editor. In political science some of his books treated the subject as a whole, but most of them dealt with international relations. In these pages there is no room to speak of his encyclopedia articles, his editorial labors, his exchange professorships, his foreign decorations and world-wide contacts, or of his influential activities in the American Political Science Association, which he served as president in 1924. From 1904 until his death he was professor of political science in the University of Illinois, and during this time he was head of the department, either *de facto* or by formal title. Professor Garner was a mild-mannered but courageous liberal, an ardent supporter of intelligent movements for international co-operation, and a vigorous critic of those influences which tended in his view toward bad faith and lawlessness among nations. He was a forceful, clear, and effective teacher and an eloquent speaker.

Christian Lous Lange, the noted peace worker, died at Oslo on December 11 at the age of sixty-nine. First active as a teacher, Lange was by the close of the century drawn definitely into work for the peace cause. He was secretary of the Norwegian *storting's* Nobel Committee from 1900 to 1909 and thereafter for years the committee's honorary counselor. From 1934 onward he was a member of the Nobel Committee. Between 1909 and

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1933 he was secretary of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, and his indefatigable labors on its behalf during the World War held together the skeleton of an organization during that trying period. After 1920 he was active in league affairs, devoting his energies particularly to the disarmament question. He lectured and wrote extensively on the peace cause, and in his many newspaper and periodical articles and in pamphlets he often presented historical sketches of its background. His longer works were historical in character, notably: *Mellemfolkelig Politik 1815-1914* (1925), *Histoire de la doctrine pacifique et de son influence sur le développement du droit international,* issued by the Académie de Droit international (1927), and *Histoire de l'internationalisme.* This last was projected in three volumes, but Lange succeeded in publishing only the first one, bearing the subtitle, *Jusqu'à la paix de Westphalie, 1648* (1919). He shared with Branting the Peace Prize for 1921.

William MacDonald, well-known historian and editor, died at his home in New York City on December 15. He was born in Providence, Rhode Island, on July 31, 1863. Graduating from Harvard in 1892, he began his professional career at Worcester Polytechnic Institute. He was professor of history and political science at Bowdoin, 1893-1901, and professor of history at Brown, 1901-17. After leaving Brown he was lecturer at the University of California for a brief time and later (1924-26) lecturer on American history at Yale. He received the degree of Ph.D. (Hon.) from Union College and LL.D. from the University of New Brunswick. For the last twenty years he gave most of his time and attention to editorial and literary work—as associate editor of the *Nation* (1918-20), acting literary editor (1929), literary writer (1930-31), and editorial writer for the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* since 1924. In recent years he contributed reviews on historical works to the *New York Times.* Of his writings on American history the most noteworthy are *Jacksonian Democracy* (1905), *From Jefferson to Lincoln* (1913), and *Three Centuries of American Democracy* (1923). Valuable as these and other publications are, the student and teacher of American history are probably especially grateful for his three volumes of documentary source books: *Select Documents Illustrative of the History of the United States* (1898), *Select Charters and Other Documents Illustrative of American History* (1899), and *Select Statutes and Other Documents Illustrative of the History of the United States* (1903). The editorial work in these volumes is of superior quality. The brief introductions to the various documents are models of clarity, precision, and good judgment and are based on much careful examination of materials throwing light upon the conditions under which the documents were put forth and giving information in many instances not easily obtained elsewhere.

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Warren King Moorehead, director emeritus of the department of archaeology, Phillips Academy, Andover, died in Boston on January 5. He was born of American parents in Siena, Italy, on March 20, 1866, and educated in the public schools at Xenia, Ohio, and at Denison University. His degrees included, M.A. (hon.) Dartmouth, 1901, Sc.D. (hon.) Oglethorpe, 1927, Sc.D. (hon.) Denison, 1930. He assisted Professor F. W. Putnam of Harvard in the installation of archaeological material for the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893, and he himself collected much of the Ohio Valley and Southwestern material that was shown. He served as curator of the Museum of Ohio State University and the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society from 1894 to 1897, editing *The Archaeologist* during a part of this time. He became curator of the department of archaeology of Phillips Academy at its founding in 1901 and was director of the department from 1907 to 1938. He was made a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners by Theodore Roosevelt in 1909, remaining a member until the dissolution of that body in 1933. He conducted archaeological explorations in the Ohio Valley, the Southwest, the South, and New England. He was the author of approximately one hundred and fifty reports, notices, and reviews in his field of study.

John C. Parish, professor of American history at the University of California at Los Angeles, died suddenly on January 13. He was born in Des Moines, Iowa, on July 25, 1881. At the close of a brilliant scholastic record in his native state, he received his Ph.D. from the State University of Iowa in 1908. Active in his teaching and in his writing up to the very last, he had just completed and sent to the publishers early in January another item in what is a notable bibliography. He was distinguished in three capacities—as teacher, as writer, and as editor. Few men have so won the regard of their students, for he combined in marked degree a democratic approachableness and thorough scholarship. A keen sense of humor lent an additional appeal to his lectures and to his writings. He edited two volumes and wrote four others, probably the best-known of the latter being *The Man with the Iron Hand* (1913). A number of stimulating brochures and articles came from his pen, one of the most thoughtful being "The Persistence of the Westward Movement", which appeared in the *Yale Review,* April, 1926. The two items mentioned are fair examples of the delightful quality of his writing. He was a close friend of the late Frederick Jackson Turner, though twenty years his junior, and the parallel between the two men is striking. Both were born in the Middle West, the writings of both were, in the main, an interpretation of the frontier advance and the westward movement, and both spent their last years in homes established within a few miles of each other on the Pacific coast. Parish took an active interest in the American Historical Association, was secretary of the conference of historical societies, 1919-22, and read papers before its sessions. Even more prolific than his writing was his editing. He was connected in one editorial

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capacity or another with *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, The Palimpsest, The Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* and finally, as editor, with the official organ of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, the *Pacific Historical Review,* which he founded in 1932.

Announcement is made of the appointment of visiting professors and instructors for the summer sessions of the following universities: *California* (Berkeley), Edward H. Tatum, intersession; Avery O. Craven, Samuel L. Joshi, Shao Chang Lee, William L. Westermann. *Chicago,* Henry Steele Commager, Ellis Merton Coulter. *Colorado,* C. Collin Davies, Harry N. Howard, Otakar Odložilík, Lynn I. Perrigo, J. Fred Rippy. *Columbia,* Herbert Heaton, J. D. Hicks, L. W. Labaree, W. E. Lingelbach, S. M. Pargellis, G. G. Van Deusen, A. A. Vasiliev, W. G. Wirthwein. *Cornell,* John S. Curtiss. *Fresno,* Percy A. Martin. *George Peabody College for Teachers,* J. M. Batten, Dan Robison. *Harvard,* James G. Randall. *Johns Hopkins,* Robert H. Wienefeld. *Michigan,* Gilberto Freyre, C. H. Haring, Charles E. Nowell. *Missouri,* Everett E. Edwards, Bert J. Loewenberg. *Nebraska,* Eugene N. Anderson, A. B. Sageser, Herbert S. Schell. *New Mexico,* Louis K. Koontz. *New York University,* William Best Hesseltine. *Northwestern,* Dan E. Clark, Roy F. Nichols. *Oregon,* George Verne Blue, Portland session; Edward M. Hume, Portland session and post-session at Eugene; Anatole Mazour, Eugene session. *Pennsylvania,* F. J. Tschan. *Pennsylvania State,* Hastings Eells, Alfred P. James, Mulford Stough. *Pittsburgh,* W. F. Dunaway. *John B. Stetson,* W. T. Jordan. *Texas,* John C. Patterson, L. B. Schmidt, for the first term; V. A. Moody, P. L. Rainwater, R. W. Strickland, A. H. Sweet, James Taylor, Ernest Wallace, for the second term; William C. Binkley, James K. Greer, for both terms. *Virginia,* Frank J. Klingberg, Thornton Terhune. *Wisconsin,* James L. Sellers.

William J. Van Schreeven, formerly in the Division of Classification of the National Archives, has resigned to accept the position of principal archivist in the Virginia State Library.

The Research Council of the University of Missouri has awarded Professor Charles F. Mullett a grant to aid him in editing James Abercromby's "An Examination of the Acts of Parliament Relative To the Trade and the Government of our American Colonies. Also The Different Constitutions of Government, in these Colonies Considered with Remarks. . . ." (1752). The manuscript in the Huntington Library will be used as the basis, but account will be taken of other copies as well as of some additional Abercromby manuscripts.

The Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History under the auspices of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations at the Johns Hopkins University were given in January by Professor William Spence Robertson of the University of Illinois. His lectures were on the subject "France

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and Latin-American Independence". The monograph upon which these lectures were based will shortly be published by the Johns Hopkins University Press.

COMMUNICATIONS

THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Although few things are more tedious than controversy about assertions at the second remove, I have too much respect for Professor Clark Wissler's judgment to let him record without question certain statements against my book, *Race* (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIV, 62-63), which my text does not seem to me to warrant:

1. "Like most writers . . . the author blames Gobineau . . . showing for one thing that he was not always consistent." I specially exempt Gobineau from blame (pp. 72-3, 108). Mine is almost the only sympathetic account of Gobineau on the subject of race, for I show that he merely brought together for valid purposes of his own elements of historical and anthropological doctrine which long antedate him.

2. ". . . any kind of thinking which assumes a relation between intellect and biological functioning starts wrong, and so can never be right." I repeatedly leave the door open for proofs of such a relation to be furnished by modern science (pp. 24, 143, 174-5, 265, 294-9). My objections to the authors I cite is based on their assuming that such a relation exists and failing to bring proofs of the kind that they themselves forecast and require.

3. "Professor Barzun claims to have discovered that evaluations and adverse criticisms of the fine arts are expressions of belief in race." I claim no discoveries of any kind. Nor do I invent or imagine the fact that critics ascribe racial qualities to artistic products or, conversely, find a test of a man's race in the art he produces. The architectural dictionary of Viollet-le-Duc and Eichenauer's *Musik und Rasse*—two among hundreds—are there for anyone to read.

4. "Next he turns to anthropology, for which he has little tolerance because he thinks that race must be material or nothing. . . ." Far from denying a tolerant hearing to anthropology, I give full credit to the intentions and scholarship of the pioneers (*e.g.*, Paul Broca, pp. 166-9). I show the contradictions and non sequiturs into which their hypotheses led them, one of these hypotheses being that race is material or nothing. The modern form of this idea is what Professor Wissler calls biological functioning while blaming me for an unwillingness to entertain it.

5. "Perhaps the method is historical in that it searches through documentary materials. . . ." Professor Wissler's final judgment, as it seems to me, transcends the limits of my modest contribution to the history of ideas. The basic questions he raises without stating them seem to be: whether ideas are real forces or mere illusions; whether their relation to biological or economic fact is subtle and complex or obvious and simple (Race being a simple First Cause for culture) and ultimately, whether the student of ideas has the right to be a pragmatic critic instead of a mechanistic materialist.

Columbia University. JACQUES BARZUN.

THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

After the lapse of an entire year you carry a review of "The Hidden Lincoln" in the January number of 1939.

Prof. Randall states that aside from Herndon & Weik in 1889 "the important Herndon & Weik manuscripts were long withheld from historical use; in 1920 they

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were used again by Weik and notably by Beveridge but not by Barton, who belittled their significance". This statement about Barton belittling their significance is not founded on facts. Barton wrote Weik over 120 letters pleading and begging for these documents in whole or in part. Weik submitted Barton's letters to Beveridge and Beveridge wrote as follows: "tell him frankly that you cannot part with any further material and thus end the correspondence." I think the statement made by Prof. Randall about Barton without any examination of the facts—is certainly extraordinary. Now as to Beveridge having used these papers Prof. Randall knows or should know what using documents means. If he will read the Beveridge volumes he will see that he refers to the documents—quotes short statements from them without quotation in full of any. In 1933 I had occasion to re-examine the Beveridge volumes for that purpose. I refer the Professor to the pamphlet which I published on the subject—. The Professor next says, "If the reader should get the impression that the Hertz' volume gives the complete Herndon & Weik collection, he would be seriously mislead. The bulk of the collection, though drawn upon and quoted from as above indicated is as yet unpublished." This statement is untrue in every sense, and is unfair in the extreme as a commentary upon what I actually did. I never said that my book was a reprint of the complete Herndon & Weik collection. The only sane thing to have done, and which I tried to do, was to select the best and the complete statements. I selected—after the most careful study, the best in the series of all collections. I saw to it that not a single fact of any significance was omitted. I omitted all duplications. I could find no one who would publish the whole mass and produce a work like the John Quincy Adams diary nor a book like the Charles Greville Diary of 3,576 pages.

Let me dispose of the lament of Prof. Randall at my omission of the statements of "Thaddeus Stevens, John Bell", and others.

Before submitting my manuscript I stated that I must examine the contents of the Huntington Library collections. There I found the letters Herndon wrote to Hart, to Arnold, to Whitney and to Lamon. I had seen the Bartlett collection before. As all of these were written in 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869 when Herndon was in the full vigor of his mental powers—most of these turned out to be better than those he wrote to Weik in 1888, 1889, and 1890 and I concluded that these should be used. Adding what I found in the Huntington Library, the Herndon manuscript alone assumed huge proportions. When I came to the selection of statements prepared by Herndon from others who knew Lincoln—I again had to select the more important ones.

I supplied the Illinois Historical Society Library with a full catalogue of the Herndon & Weik collection and Prof. Randall evidently found that catalogue which contains about 2,200 numbers, referring to that many folders of manuscripts. I could not follow the method of strangling Herndon for the last time by quoting a few sentences or paragraphs and account for all his letters any more than I could print all his letters, in which he almost in identical words repeats the same thing, in order to impress upon Weik a particular fact. The list which Prof. Randall enumerates is of very little importance as compared with those I did select.

The Professor continues "Mr. Hertz gives a selection, but hardly a well-rounded sampling of the whole mass." How does the Professor know? He has never seen the original collection, nor a copy—he certainly has not read it, and will not be able to know what it contains until he will have read all of these collections as I have read them. Now what does the Professor mean by making such a statement? Then he proceeds to challenge some of those used—he would not have used them. Who is the better judge of which statement should have been used and which

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omitted? The man who read them, who studied them, who compared them or the one who never saw them before writing the review, and when he will see them, he will see my copy of the documents I selected—but not those which I omitted. For the Herndon & Weik collection itself he will never see nor read. I did see it and I did read it as I did the Huntington collections. The Professor does not like my editing either—it is unsatisfactory. But he wants an adequate account of the Herndon & Weik collection; and I could not use up precious pages to supply the needs of the Professor.

"The editor gives no indication of the source of each document used" says the Professor. None is needed; it is in the handwriting of Herndon or the other contributors—all originals; the one who prepared them is the same much abused Herndon. The photostats are all in existence, as are the originals. In my preface I explained the original source of each document and he who can read or cares to read can tell by examining each letter. The Professor now finds that "the statement by Mr. Hertz that the originals—of Herndon's draft chapters for Lamon book and of his letters to Weik are "all in Huntington Library seems definitely erroneous". All I stated was that Lamon purchased a copy of all Herndon had until 1870 and that that copy is in Huntington now and has been for some time. The Professor is evidently confused—at my imaginary delinquencies. I did say that in writing to Weik, Herndon used almost the same language and facts and phrases as he used in the letters to Lamon and in the copy of the manuscript which he sold to Lamon. In other words, Lamon's whole collection of manuscripts including all he received from Herndon is in Huntington Library. To have used all Dennis Hanks wrote would have made a complete book in itself—and to have used his words and spelling would have added to the disgust of the all wise reviewers.

Now as to explanatory annotation which certain experts are always clamoring for—and in which they occasionally—much to the merriment of nations—indulge. I am more than convinced that neither Lincoln nor Herndon need annotators, glossators nor multitudinous notes. There are those who are for restating the Decalogue, the Multiplication table and the Alphabet; but there are still those who prefer them as they are. I am one of those.

When I was confronted with the Herndon & Weik collection, I had no time to consult these experts as to what to do under those conditions. The collection might change hands any moment and might be locked up forever—as it now is. It was of little importance what I thought of the specific items which I read and which I studied. The only thing I could do was what I did. In the final analysis the decision was mine to make—I had to decide, and quickly, what was important and what was not important and all things considered, the most important things found their way into my book.

I can state without fear of contradiction that nothing of primary importance has been omitted. I have done the best I could. Besides endless repetition would have palled on the reader. My only regret in this whole affair is that I am forced to reply to this review—as I have not noticed any other of the reviews, favorable or unfavorable.

New York City. EMANUEL HERTZ.

THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I wish to thank you for letting me see Mr. Hertz's letter. My estimate of his book has already been given, and I have nothing to add or subtract.

Urbana, Illinois. J. G. RANDALL.

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